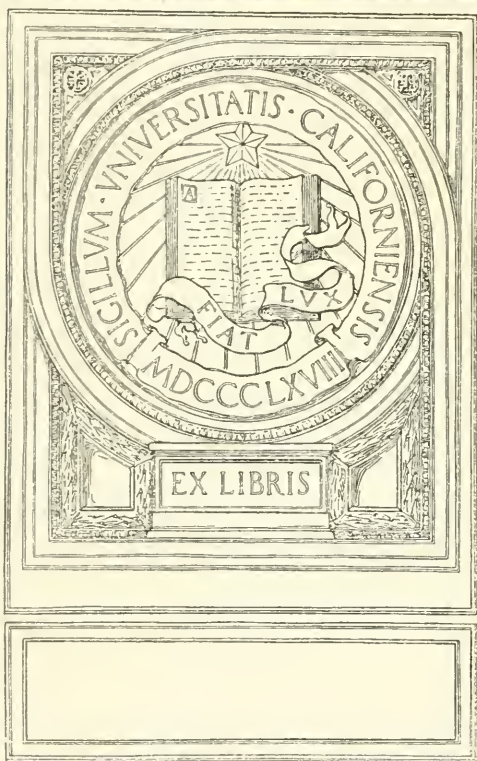


UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



BERKELEY AND PERCIVAL

BENJAMIN RAND

THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF GEORGE BERKELEY AND
SIR JOHN PERCIVAL

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George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne

BERKELEY AND PERCIVAL

BY
BENJAMIN RAND

THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
GEORGE BERKELEY
AFTERWARDS
BISHOP OF CLOYNE
AND
SIR JOHN PERCIVAL
AFTERWARDS
EARL OF EGMONT

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PREFACE

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THIS volume contains the hitherto unpublished correspondence of George Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, and Sir John Percival, afterwards Earl of Egmont. The collection of manuscripts from which the correspondence was taken is in possession of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egmont. This collection was originally made by the first Earl of Egmont largely to serve as material for a history of the Percival family, that appeared in 1742 under the title of 'A Genealogical History of the House of Yvery.' Those portions of the collection relating to Berkeley and Percival comprised in this present volume are found in the nine volumes of 'Letter-books,' 1697—1731, the twelve volumes of the 'Journal of Percival,' 1731—1747, and the seven volumes of 'Original Letters,' 1740—1751. The copied letters which passed between Berkeley and Percival from the 12th of September, 1709, to the 15th of December, 1730, scattered through the 'Letter-books,' form the bulk of the present volume. The 'Journal of Percival,' which began in 1731, shortly before the time the 'Letter-books' end, yield various memoranda showing the continuance of the friendly relations between them in the later years of their lives. The two letters signed by Berkeley as the Bishop of Cloyne, and the two by Kene Percival, are taken from the 'Original Letters' of the Egmont collection.

Some account of the Egmont collection is given in the 'Appendix to the Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts' (pp. 232—249), printed in 1879. It contains the dates of the letters, accompanied by various brief extracts from the correspondence in the 'Letter-books' between Berkeley and Percival. Four letters from this collection, bearing date 6th Oct., 29th Nov., 10th Dec. and 27th Dec. in 1709, appear also in the 'Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont by the Manuscript Commission'

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in 1909, vol. II, pp. 241—245, but the calendar of these papers ends with the reign of Queen Anne. Mr Alexander Campbell Fraser, the foremost Berkeleyian authority, had access to the 'Letter-books' of the Egmont collection and made use of such extracts¹ as seemed suitable for biographical purposes in the preparation of his volume on 'Berkeley' which appeared in 1881, and of his memoir of Berkeley, prefixed to the new edition of the latter's works published in 1901. The letters between Berkeley and Percival have, however, remained, with the exceptions noted, unprinted in their entirety until the present volume. Percival's 'Journal' has also been drawn upon solely by T. Lorenz (*Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos.* XIV. 1) to exhibit his later relations with Bishop Berkeley.

The lives of 'Berkeley and Percival' are presented in the form of 'A Biographical Commentary,' which precedes the 'Correspondence.' This historical narrative will be found not only to exhibit the relations of Berkeley and Percival, but also to embody at the same time all such explanations as have seemed necessary for the elucidation of the 'Correspondence' and the 'Journal.' The foot-notes of the 'Correspondence' are thereby confined almost entirely to those marginal notes which Percival made throughout his copy-books of letters in 1736 with reference to his correspondents and to the persons mentioned in the text. No cross references have been used between the 'Biographical Commentary' and the 'Correspondence' since these follow a similar chronological order.

To the present Earl of Egmont a grateful acknowledgment is made for the courtesy he has shown in permitting the publication of these letters, which reveal the delightful intercourse and friendship of so many years between the public-spirited first Earl of Egmont and the distinguished philosopher Bishop Berkeley.

B. R.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
June 1914.

¹ Some of these extracts have been very imperfectly transcribed.

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BERKELEY AND PERCIVAL

A BIOGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

GEORGE BERKELEY, Bishop of Cloyne, was born on the 12th of March, 1685, at Dysert Castle, near Thomastown, in the county of Kilkenny, in Ireland. His father, William Berkeley, was of English descent, and may have accompanied a reputed kinsman, the first Lord Berkeley of Stratton, to Ireland, when he became its Lord Lieutenant. Little is related of Berkeley's youth. From the age of eleven to fifteen, he attended the Duke of Ormonde's school in Kilkenny, then the 'Eton of Ireland.' On the 21st of March, 1700, he matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1704 he received there the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1707 that of Master of Arts. On the 9th of June, 1707, he was admitted to a fellowship at Trinity, and continued there in residence until 1713. During this academic period the influences which would mould his philosophical development are apparent. While he was a student Peter Browne, who wrote 'The procedure, extent, and limits of the human understanding,' was provost of the institution. For a teacher he also had William King, who became Archbishop of Dublin in 1703, and who was the author of a well-known work on 'The origin of evil.' The metaphysical speculation of the eighteenth century was then at full flood, Hobbes, Descartes, Leibniz, and Newton being the philosophers most studied. The new philosophy of Locke had, however, begun to attract attention, and had been championed in

Dublin by William Molyneux. The general interest in the subject led Berkeley and a few friends to form a society for philosophical discussion. There was then kept by Berkeley a 'Commonplace Book,' printed by Fraser¹ for the first time in 1871, which contains many germinal thoughts developed in his later works. But the first published fruits of this early period of philosophical reflection are to be found in Berkeley's 'An essay towards a new theory of vision.' This appeared in 1709, and was dedicated by Berkeley to a young nobleman, Sir John Percival, with whom he maintained the correspondence published in this work.

Sir John Percival, afterwards first Earl of Egmont, was born at Burton, in the county of Cork, Ireland, on the 12th of July, 1683. He was the second son of Sir John Percival, a man of considerable prominence in his day, who had held important offices in Ireland under Cromwell, and later had been sworn of the Privy Council, and created a baronet under the Restoration. His mother was Catherine, fourth daughter of Sir Edward Dering, baronet, of Surrendon-Derry, in Kent. His father died of gaol fever, caught at the Cork assizes, when this son was only three years of age. His mother married again in August, 1689, and the guardianship of the minors became thereby vested in their great-uncle, Sir Robert Southwell. Sir Edward Percival, the elder brother, dying upon the 9th of November, 1691, the second son succeeded to the estate and title as the third Sir John Percival.

Percival's early education was received at the home of his guardian in England. When thirteen years of age he attended Mr De Moeur's French School in Greek Street, London. He also received instruction during leisure hours from Mr Betterton, a tragedian. In 1698 he was sent by his great-uncle

¹ Alexander Campbell Fraser, *Life, letters, and unpublished writings of George Berkeley*, Oxford, 1871, pp. 419-502.

to Westminster School, where he had an excellent training in the classical branches of study. In November, 1699, he was entered at Magdalen College, in Oxford. Here he devoted his attention chiefly to the study of mathematics, logic, and history. His tutor at the University was Dr Richard Smalbrook, later Bishop of Lichfield, who, in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell, dated 4th February, 1701, writes: 'The greatest occasion of Sir John's expenses has been his love of music, which has engaged him to have more entertainments than otherwise he would have had.' Percival's fondness for music, as here related, remained one of his most striking life-long traits. Leaving the University in 1701, he made a thorough tour of England. On the 10th of September, 1702, his maternal uncle, Sir Robert Southwell, dying, he came under the guardianship of the son, Sir Edward Southwell. Although not yet of age, Percival was elected in 1704 knight of the shire of the county of Cork. In the same year he was also appointed a privy councillor. A tour of the continent then followed, in which he visited most of the courts of Italy and Germany, as well as the republics of Genoa, Venice, and Holland. After two years spent abroad, he returned in October, 1707, to England.

In May, 1708, Percival passed over again from England to Ireland, and during this year first made the acquaintance of Berkeley at Trinity College, Dublin. The beginning of their friendship, of which Fraser remarks he 'had not discovered the origin,' is mentioned in a letter to Sir John Percival, written from London on 17th January, 1709, by his cousin, Daniel Dering. The writer says: 'I had lately a letter from my worthy friend Mr Berkeley. He has a very sincere respect for you and thinks himself highly obliged to you for admitting him into your acquaintance. You will find him to be a most modest, learned, and discreet person.' In a note made upon this letter, after an interval of twenty-seven years,

Percival writes, 'Mr Berkeley, fellow of Dublin College, now Bishop of Cloyne, 1736. A man of the noblest virtues, best learning I ever knew.' The exquisite and noble part which this friendship played during so many years in the lives both of Percival and Berkeley may be learned by a perusal of their correspondence, here for the first time made wholly available to the reader.

The letter which begins the correspondence between Berkeley and Percival is dated at Trinity College, Dublin, the 22nd of September, 1709, and is written by the philosopher to his friend, who had shortly before returned to London. In it Berkeley expresses regret at the loss of a valuable collection of books, statues, and paintings, which Percival had ordered in Italy, and which had fallen on the way to England into the hands of the French, with whom the English were then at war. Doubts, however, are raised whether the entertainment to be derived from these treasures would be greatly missed in the county of Cork, as the place had not then many
 ✓ virtuosi. In the letter Berkeley also urges upon Percival the early acquisition of fixed methods of study, as more easily gained before than after matrimony. Percival, in his reply of October 6, 1709, says that he regards marriage as 'a voluntary confinement,' but elsewhere states¹ that he has the best opinion of it in the world 'where it hits right.'

¹ A cousin of Percival, Helena Le Grand, in a letter of November 29th, 1708, had recommended to him a young lady as suitable for a wife, about whom he remarks in the margin of the letter 'I did not like her because she had red hair.' In the answer to this cousin Percival gives with fullness his views of matrimony.

7th Dec. 1708.

To Cozen Le Grand concerning the Lady recommended for a wife.

DEAR COZEN,

I thank you for your last and particularly for the picture, which gives me as full an idea as can be formed of a person whose face I don't remember to have seen. You have often heard me say that in a complete wife there are six things desirable, viz. good nature, beauty, sense, breeding, birth, and fortune.

'Tis seldom that all these meet in one, nay and almost impossible, and

therefore where they don't, respect must be had to those qualifications that cannot be spared, and men must be contented to go without those that can; such as fortune, which I've put last because of smallest moment, and next to that family, which may likewise be spared, if all the other things hit. The other four must join to make a man happy: good nature, or a husband has no peace at home: beauty, or he has no delight: sense, or his affairs go to wreck: and breeding, or the world reflects on his choice; but I have particular reason to desire my wife to be a handsome person, because I love home and intend to be furiously constant. As to the two separable qualities, they are not to be despised, though inferior to the rest, for a good family is seldom attended with beggarly relations, and generally afford friends in power to assist one on occasion; but this is a needless consideration for me who am of so distant a country where indigent relations would have no courage to follow me, and who have fortune enough, but no ambitious views to gratify. Then as to a fortune, besides the conveniences of life it brings with it, there is this good attending, that it secures a wife from imagining that her husband should think she owed him obligations for marrying her with nothing; a jealousy that often produces ill blood between them. I despise neither of these.

A proposal was made me here very lately by several to address a young gentlewoman of very good family, twenty years old, and of £8000 fortune. She has been bred up they say extremely well, under a mother who is something severe, but I am so far from intending to marry in this country that I never so much as asked the person's name.

To tell you the truth I look upon it as the most important action of my life. I see that everybody does it sooner or later, or repent they did not, and consider that 'tis really time for me to think of it, seeing my brother and I are all who are left; but the many unhappy marriages in the world do really terrify me from venturing on a state on which my happiness or misery will depend. I find myself at present free and absolute in the disposal of myself, which is certainly an unspeakable happiness while I conduct myself well, but I know not how constrained and thwarted I may be by a wife whose humour should not prove easy and kind. I have the best opinion in the world of marriage where it hits right, but I know myself so well, that I shall be the most miserable if disappointed in my choice, for I cannot be easy with a medium, or that they call living tolerably happy together. I have been told that my temper is not commendable, and that a man must be contented with his fortune as many others are forced to be. The argument is good when once we are married, but not so for marrying: 'tis one thing to bear up under misfortune, and another to run into it.

By what I have said you see my opinion of marriage in general. You see what sort of a woman would please me, and that I do resolve upon it. It remains only that I find her out, and in this search I am obliged to any friend that directs me; therefore, dear cousin, I heartily thank you for your kindness therein, and if anything should come of it shall never forget the obligation I owe you; if not, I shall think it my own ill taste, and not want of judgment in you to know what is fit for me. Our family have been diminishing for some generations in comeliness and stature, and I would fain cross the strain by marrying a proper and handsome person. Thus I have written to you as freely as I think when I'm alone, which I hope you will take kindly.

I am...

PERCIVAL.

TO HELENA SOUTHWELL LE GRAND.

This early correspondence touches upon themes alike of political and of theological import. Percival remarks (6th Oct. 1709) that he is engaged upon the subject of government, since it appears to him most 'proper for a gentleman to know the measure of his obedience and the length of their power who rule.' In this connection he calls attention to a recent work of William Higden (d. 1715), the famous non-juror. Higden had refused to take the oaths after the revolution, but had subsequently conformed and published, in defence of his conduct, 'A view of the English constitution with respect to the sovereign authority of the prince and the allegiance of the subject in vindication of the lawfulness of taking the oaths to his Majesty by law required' (Lond. 1709). It is interesting to note that Berkeley, in his reply of 21st of October, 1709, expresses agreement with Higden's defence of swearing allegiance to a king *de facto* as well as *de jure*. He also recommends to Percival for additional reading, Locke's 'Treatise on government.' For theological comment a first occasion was afforded by William Whiston (1667—1752), the successor of Newton as professor at Cambridge, who had written in 1708 an imperfect essay on 'Apostolical Constitutions,' in which he rejected the accepted doctrine of the trinity. Percival, in a letter of the 29th November, 1709, argues against this heresy, and bemoans the danger the priest incurs of losing a small living. Berkeley agrees (27th Dec. 1709) with Percival that Whiston has erred in point of doctrine, but affirms an increased respect for the man on account of his contempt for material things when weighed against intellectual beliefs. Another occasion which also discloses the theological attitude of these correspondents was the trial of Dr Sacheverell (1674?—1724) for two sermons alleged to be 'malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels, highly reflecting upon Her Majesty, and Her Government, the late happy revolution, and protestant succession.' Dr Sacheverell was a high church and Tory advocate, whose impeachment

was ordered by a Whig House of Commons. On the 27th of February, 1710, the trial began, and on the 20th of March the doctor was declared guilty by the Lords. Berkeley reveals, in a letter of the 1st of March, 1710, to Percival his sympathy for Dr Sacheverell in the drinking of healths to this divine, but adds (6th Sept. 1710) that he is a character of whom he 'is not at all fond.' Percival, replying to Berkeley on the 20th of April, 1710, shows an independence in party warfare which characterizes his whole political career.

Berkeley has in Percival an interested but not a skilled correspondent in the philosophical realm. Through his advice the latter read the 'Crito' of Plato, for the account of the good citizenship of Socrates. The willingness of this ancient philosopher to give up his life in obedience to the laws of the state appealed to Percival as something which entitled Socrates more to admiration than even the conduct of the martyrs. This opinion evokes from Berkeley an interesting discussion (27th Dec. 1709) of Socrates, in which he concludes that he 'cannot forbear thinking him the best and most admirable man that the heathen world produced.'

To Percival there is also sent by Berkeley, through Samuel Molyneux, to whom Berkeley had dedicated his 'Miscellanea Mathematica' (1707), a copy of the second edition of his 'Essay on the new theory of vision.' This work, already dedicated to Percival, marks an epoch in the analysis of the sense perceptions, inasmuch as it sets forth with rare skill of presentation the truth that every act of vision is an act of judgment or interpretation involving a rational process. The appendix to the second edition its author now says (1st March, 1710) was written to answer certain objections of William King, Archbishop of Dublin. Other objections would be met in a book which he then had in the press, he adds, referring to the 'Treatise of human knowledge.' Berkeley

mentions likewise having read the Archbishop of Dublin's 'Sermon on the consistency of predestination and foreknowledge with the freedom of man's will' (1709), and expresses dissatisfaction with its merely analogical proof of the nature of God. He thus foreshadows the reasoning to which afterwards he gave more complete expression in his 'Alciphron' (Sect. 19. 21). In the same letter Berkeley also states that he had written to Samuel Clarke (1675—1729) to favour him with his thoughts on the subject of God's existence, and the proofs he regarded as most conclusive of it. Inasmuch as Clarke after the death of Locke in 1704 was regarded as the foremost of English metaphysicians¹, it was natural that Berkeley

¹ The 'Journal of Percival' from 1730 to 1747, found among Percival's manuscripts, reveals both his relations with Clarke and the opinion then entertained of this philosopher. We quote from it as follows:

Tuesday, 20th *January*, 17²⁹/₃₀. The Queen, who is an encourager of learned men as far as countenance goes, has caused the picture of the late Doctor Samuel Clarke, Rector of St James', to be set up in Kensington Palace, with this inscription to his honour, composed by Dr Hoadly, Bishop of Salisbury.

'SAMUEL CLARKE, D.D.

Rector of St James', Westminster.

In some parts of useful knowledge and critical learning, perhaps without an equal. In all united, certainly without a superior. In his works the best defender of religion. In his practice the greatest ornament of it. In his conversation communicative, and in an uncommon manner instructive. In his preaching and writing, strong, clear, and calm. In his life, high in the esteem of the great, the good, and the wise. In his death lamented by every friend to truth, to virtue, and liberty.

He died May the 7th, 1729, in the 54 year of his age.'

He was doubtless a very great man, and besides his learning, no man had a more metaphysical head, nor clearer way of expressing himself. I believe too that he was a lover and searcher after truth, but whether he found it in his notions of our Saviour's Divinity, which he published in his book called *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, and several anonymous pamphlets, is a thing disputed and almost universally denied by our clergy, who in Queen Anne's time attacked him in convocation, and engaged him to sign a promise that he would for the future be silent of that head. It was the great interest of Bishop Smalridge among his brethren which at that time saved him from some formidable censure, on condition of the promise above mentioned, which the Bishop afterwards complained to me was not performed by him. Bishop Goodwin of Ireland told me, no man was more of Dr Clarke's notion in these matters than Smalridge, but that being one of the heads of the High Church Party he would never discover his opinion. The famous Dr Whitby

likewise at his death left a large pamphlet wherein he declared himself to be of the same mind with the semi-Arians, and recants the excellent writings he had published before in favour of the established and orthodox belief.

Dr Clarke on the death of Sir Isaac Newton applied for the post of Warden of the Mint and obtained the nomination to it, which hurt his character and was certainly a very unbecoming office for a clergyman, especially of one whose character was so established, and who had already £1000 coming in, but he presently saw his error and resigned his pursuit. When I heard the Doctor had asked that employment I called to mind a passage of old Bishop Latimer in his sermon preached at St Paul's Church, 8th January, 1548, where complaining of the prelates of his time, that some were occupied in king's matters, some ambassadors, some of the Privy Council, some to furnish the Court, some Lords of Parliament, some Presidents, and some *Comptrollers of Mints*: Well, well, (says he) is this their duty? Is this their calling? Should we have ministers of the Church to be comptrollers of the mint? Is this a meet office for a priest that hath cure of souls? Is this his charge? I would fain know who comptrolleth the devil at home in his parish while he comptrolleth the mint. If the apostles might not leave the office of preaching to the deacons, shall one leave it for minting? I cannot tell you, but the saying is, that since Priests have been minters money hath been worse than it was before.

Saturday, 1st Aug., 1730. I had from undoubted hands in London, that if the late Dr Clarke of St James' had survived the present A. B. of Canterbury, the King would have made him his successor, and when the King was told that could not be because he would not accept it: the King replied 'I'll make him.'

Thursday, 14th October, 1730. The speaker, Judge Probyn, Gyles Earl, Mr Glanvil, Mr Temple, and I sat some hours at the coffee house. The subjects we talked on were the clergy and Parliament....

Friday, 22nd October, 1730. The same company met again: our discourse was on Dr Clarke's writings. The speaker said his *Discourse on the Attributes of God* is the finest metaphysical divinity that ever appeared, and that no man ever before demonstrated the impossibility of more Gods than one. and that in effect if there could be more Gods than one, then there may be no God at all. He added that it was this enquiry that led him to his Arian notions. Dean Gilbert said the Doctor left a multitude of sermons in manuscript, but not all fitted for the press. Dr Carleton the physician said he heard nine hundred. The speaker replied, three hundred are corrected by him, and will be printed according to his design before he died. That they are properly not sermons but discourses, and ought to be read carefully, being too deep for use on bare hearing them from the pulpit. That he wished the young clergy would collect from them the critical explanations he has given of a multitude of difficult texts, which would be the best comment on the Bible that ever was. He said this is the excellence and delight of my Lord Chancellor King's studies, who employs his leisure hours this way and is very learned in Divinity.

The copy of Dr Clarke's sermons are sold by the widow for £1200, but would have come to much more had they been prepared to be printed by subscription, as was advised.

The speaker said Sir Isaac Newton thought Anti-Christ came in with the modern doctrine of the Trinity, and that Dr Clarke was of the same opinion.

Thursday, 24th July, 1735. My son Hanmer carried me to court,

should desire to learn his views and should feel aggrieved that he had not heard 'one word from him either on that or on any other subject.'

Sir John Percival married on the 20th of June, 1710, Catherine, daughter of Sir Philip Parker, a Morley of Erwarton, in the county of Suffolk, who was a person of excellent intellectual gifts and who shared fully in her husband's long and intimate friendship with Berkeley. In a letter of the 29th of June, 1710, Berkeley congratulates Percival upon this marriage and asks him, 'how unmannerly soever it may be to give trouble at this time,' to present to Lord Pembroke (1656—1733) a book he had recently dedicated to him. This new treatise was entitled 'Concerning the principles of human knowledge,' and as Locke had previously dedicated his 'Essay concerning human understanding' to this erudite lord, Berkeley may have been somewhat influenced by such an example in making his dedication. In this work he resumed at greater length the argument of the 'Essay on vision,' that judgment was involved in every act of vision. He sought in addition particularly to refute the accepted ideas of matter and force, with the view of discovering everywhere the presence and agency of the living God. The reception of the book was a matter of much concern to Berkeley, inasmuch as it contained a perfected statement of what is best known as the Berkeleian philosophy. This anxiety is evidenced by his request of Percival in the next letter (29th July, 1710) to ascertain the opinion of his acquaintances upon it. Percival did as desired, but unfortunately could only report (26th Aug. 1710) a very indifferent attitude on the part of the public. The unfairness of a hostile

where the Queen [Caroline] talked of sundry things with Mr Onslow, the speaker, and me....She extolled Dr Clarke deceased, and said to me you are one of his admirers. I replied I thought him indeed a very great man, and the best textuary of any divine I had met with. Yes, said the speaker, and what is more, he has put religion on such a foot as men of sense can declare for it. The Queen replied, the world would every year esteem him more.

judgment without investigation disappointed Berkeley, particularly as he had sought to avert the customary opposition to a new doctrine by the omission of 'all mention of the non-existence of matter in the title-page, dedication, preface, and introduction, that so the notion might steal unawares upon the reader.' Percival remarks, however, to Berkeley that his wife 'desires to know if there be nothing but spirit and ideas, what you make of that part of the six days' creation which preceded man.' To this objection of Lady Percival Berkeley replies (6th Sept. 1710), 'I do not deny the existence of any of those sensible things which Moses says were created by God. They existed from all eternity in the Divine intellect, and then became perceptible (i.e. were created) in the same manner and order as is described in Genesis.'

The desire of Berkeley for further views upon his philosophical work was in some measure met by Percival in a letter of the 10th of October, 1710, as he was then able to report, though at second hand¹, that his recent book had been read by both Clarke and Whiston. They compare him, it was said, both with Malebranche and Norris, but regret the waste of his extraordinary genius on metaphysics. They concede that he is a most skilful arguer, but say that the first principles he lays down are false. Berkeley replies (27th Nov. 1710) to Percival that he does not regard his writings as in the least coincident with the philosophers with whom he has been contrasted, and he is solicitous to know particularly what fault his

¹ John Chamberlayne, a missionary, who designed to convert the Malabarians, was at least one of the means of communication with Clarke, as writing to Percival the 11th September, 1710, he says: 'I have taken the liberty to put into the hands of the learned Dr Clarke Mr Berkeley's ingenious *Treatise of Knowledge* as I did before that other about "Vision," and have desired him to give me his opinion freely of both. But as he knows it is to be communicated to you, I doubt whether he will engage in so delicate a matter; if he should not, I am sure you will not expect it from me, the fools shoot their bolts soonest, nor is it of any weight if I should tell you that I believe Mr Berkeley's doctrine of ideas does, beside other absurdities, solve that unphilosophical notion of the creation of matter from nothing, which to me is inconceivable.'

readers find with his principles. Although Clarke adheres to the opinion already expressed that the Berkeleian principles are false, he still refuses to be drawn into a controversy. Whiston too says elsewhere¹ of this attempt of Berkeley to obtain their opinion: 'He was pleased to send to Mr Clarke and myself each of us a book. After we had both perused it, I went to Dr Clarke and discoursed with him about it to this effect, that I, being not a metaphysician, was not able to answer Mr Berkeley's subtle premises, though I did not at all believe his absurd conclusion. I therefore desired that he, who was deep in such subtleties, but did not appear to believe Mr Berkeley's conclusion, would answer him, which task he declined.' This attitude of Clarke evidently proved a disappointment to Berkeley, as in a letter to Percival, dated the 19th of January, 1711, he expresses his surprise that such a candid man should declare him to be in error and yet out of modesty refuse to show him wherein his error lies. Lord Pembroke, like Clarke and Whiston, expresses admiration of Berkeley's ability, but fails to be convinced of the non-existence of matter.

Berkeley, undaunted by this lack of sympathetic appreciation for his new beliefs, spent, as is probable, the last year of his residence in Dublin in the preparation of his remarkable 'Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous.' The aim in these was to set forth the philosophy of his earlier works in a form more suited to the mass of mankind. What appeared to the world at first as mere metaphysical paradoxes he desired to make so clear and indubitable as to produce its willing acceptance. He would seek to remove every objection that could well be raised against his fundamental doctrine, that the being of the sense world consists in its being perceived. For this purpose he makes use of the dialogue wherein he asks that the

¹ *Historical Memoirs of the life of Dr S. Clarke*, Lond. 1730, pp. 133-4.

correctness of every step in the argument be granted, until the final result in the exclusion of the materiality of the universe appears to have been reached inevitably by one's own reasoning, rather than by that of Berkeley. Later, upon the appearance of the 'Dialogues,' Percival writes (17th July, 1713) to the author: 'The new method you took by way of dialogue, I am satisfied, has made your reasoning much easier to be understood, and was the properest course you could use in such an argument, where prejudice against the novelty of it was sure to raise numberless objections, that could not any way as easy as by dialogue be either made or answered....I speak with all sincerity, I am equally surprised at the number of objections you bring and the satisfactory answers you give afterwards, and I declare I am much more of your opinion than before.' But the ultimate goal of Berkeley's thought is not attained by the mere abandonment of materialism. The argument is carried beyond this stage and becomes constructive. Matter has been forced out of the world only that he may bring in the living God. A divine being can alone explain our confidence in the stability and uniformity of nature's operations. Already in the 'Principles' Berkeley had expressed these convictions in a passage remarkable for its literary beauty: 'Some truths there are so near and obvious to the mind that a man need only open his eyes to see them. Such I take this important one to be, viz. that all the choir of heaven and furniture of the earth, in a word all those bodies which comprise the mighty frame of the world, have not any subsistence without a mind; that their *being* is to be perceived or known; that, consequently so long as they are not actually perceived by me, or do not exist in my mind, or that of any other created spirit, they must either have no existence at all, or else subsist in the mind of some Eternal Spirit.' Such was Berkeley's theistic idealism. His permanent position in the history of philosophy had thereby become secured

before he was twenty-eight. Henceforward other interests replete with fascination to the reader of the correspondence with Percival largely fill Berkeley's life.

The increasing friendship between Berkeley and the family of Percival is shown in the pleasing references to the Percival children¹ made by Berkeley in several letters written before his departure from Dublin. On the 6th of March, 1711, Berkeley congratulates Percival on the birth of his son and heir, John, who was born in London, 24th February, 1711, and entreats the father to read Locke on 'Education.' Later in this year Sir John and Lady Percival cross to Dublin, and here their daughter Catherine was born on 11th January, 1712. The summer of 1712 was spent by the Percivals at Burton, the family seat in the county of Cork, but the children remained in Dublin. During the absence of the parents Berkeley called on the children; and he tells of the 'very charming and conversible Lady' whom he saw, and of the 'brisk young gentleman,' with whom he walked and 'conversed' in the gardens. Berkeley also visited Burton during the summer, and upon his return to Dublin again sent news to the parents of the children's welfare. He informed them in playful banter that the 'master seems not to care a farthing for you both. Long absence seems to have produced in him a perfect indifference for his parents. And a little

¹ The children of Sir John Percival and Catherine Parker were: (1) John, b. in London, 24th Feb. 1711, who succeeded to the title of his father. He married, 15th Feb. 1733, Lady Catherine Cecil, second daughter of James Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. His first wife dying 16th Aug. 1752, he married, secondly, on Jan. 26th 1756, Catherine, third daughter of the Hon. Charles Compton. She died 11th June, 1784. He became a member of parliament. His death occurred 4th Dec. 1770. (2) Catherine, b. 11th Jan. 1712 at Dublin and was married on the 14th April, 1733 to Thomas Hanmer of Fenno. She died 16th Feb. 1748. (3) Mary, b. 12th May, 1713 and died an infant. (4) Philip Clarke, b. at Burton 21st June, 1714. He died an infant. (5) Mary, b. at London 28th Dec. 1716, and died an infant. (6) Helena, b. at London 14th Feb. 1718. She married Sir John Rawdon, baronet, of Rawdon Hall in Yorkshire. (7) George, b. in London 28th Jan. 1722, to whom the Prince of Wales, later King George the Second, was god-father. He died in July, 1726.

longer stay will probably make him forget you quite.' Miss Kitty, he added, 'is without dispute the most agreeable Lady I have seen on this side Burton. Nevertheless, if I may be allowed to be a judge of beauty, I should give it master for features and miss for complexion.'

For thirteen years (1700—1713) Berkeley had pursued an academic career at Trinity College, receiving its degrees and holding a residential fellowship. He was now to abandon the quiet atmosphere of a university life, and for the next eight years (1713—1721) to become to some extent a man of the world. In January, 1713, he obtained leave of absence from the College, and proceeded from Dublin to London, taking with him the manuscript of the 'Dialogues,' which he was anxious to publish. In a letter to Percival of 26th of January, 1713, he gives an account of his journey and records his pleasant impressions of England. His first introduction on arriving in London was to Lord Pembroke, to whom he had dedicated the 'Principles of human knowledge,' and from whose acquaintance he expects much satisfaction. A message also awaits him from Steele, who desires his acquaintance. Somebody had given Steele a copy of his 'Principles,' and this he regards as the reason for the courtesy. This eminent writer he finds very civil and obliging, and he 'proposes no small satisfaction in the conversation with him and his ingenious friends.' Thereafter he dines frequently with Steele at his well-appointed home in Bloomsbury Square. Steele's conversation he finds (23rd Feb. 1713) 'is very cheerful and abounds in wit and good sense.' On the 7th of March, 1713, Berkeley writes to Percival: 'You will soon hear of Steele under the character of the "Guardian"; he designs his paper shall come out every day as the "Spectator."' He is likewise projecting a noble entertainment for persons of refined taste. It is chiefly to consist of the finest pieces of eloquence translated from the Greek and Latin

authors ; they will be accompanied by the best music suited to raise those passions that are suited to the occasion. Pieces of poetry too will be recited. These informations I have from Mr Steele himself.' After the 'Guardian' appeared and while it was under Steele's editorship various contributions were made to its columns by Berkeley.

The gift from the author of a new poem on Windsor Forest at this time marks the beginning of Berkeley's acquaintance with Pope. 'This gentleman,' he tells Percival, 'is a Papist, but a man of excellent wit and learning ; and one of those Mr Steele mentions in his last paper as having writ some of the "Spectators".' It is with Addison, however, that Berkeley now enters into the most intimate relations. A contrast of the two contemporary Whig men of letters, Addison and Steele, is made in a letter written to Percival on the 27th of March, 1713: 'His wit, natural good sense, generous sentiments, and enterprising genius, with a peculiar delicacy and ease of writing, seem those qualities which distinguish Mr Steele. Mr Addison has the same talents in a high degree, and is likewise a great philosopher, having applied himself to speculative philosophy more than any of the wits I know.' On the same date Berkeley breakfasted with Addison and Swift at the lodgings of the latter. The coming in of Steele and the apparent goodwill displayed by all is interpreted as a sign of an approaching coalition of parties, inasmuch as the relations between the two authors, who were Whigs, and Dr Swift, a staunch Tory, had previously been somewhat strained. At Easter, 1713, Addison's tragedy of Cato was acted for the first time, and Berkeley was a spectator of it in the company of the author. In a letter to Percival, of the 16th of April, 1713, Berkeley gives the following account of the play: 'I was present with Mr Addison and two or three more friends in a side box, where we had a table and two or three flasks of burgundy and champagne,

with which the author (who is a very sober man) thought it necessary to support his spirits in the concern he was then under; and indeed it was a pleasant refreshment to us all between the acts. He has performed a very difficult task with great success, having introduced the noblest ideas of virtue and religion upon the stage with the greatest applause, and in the fullest audience that was ever known.' With the celebrated actress, Mrs Nancy Oldfield, in the character of Cato's daughter, the initial success of this drama continued for almost a month, until, as Berkeley says (7th May, 1713), 'people were convinced by experience that no play ever drew a greater concourse of people than the most virtuous.'

In John Arbuthnot (1667—1735), the court physician and well-known wit, Berkeley not only gains a friend, but he thinks he has also made of him a proselyte. 'This day,' Berkeley writes (16th April, 1713), 'I dined at Dr Arbuthnot's lodging in the Queen's palace....Dr Arbuthnot is the first proselyte I have made of the treatise¹ I came over to print, which will soon be published. His wit, you have an instance of in the "Art of political lying" and in the tracts of "John Bull" of which he is the author. He is the Queen's domestic physician, and in great esteem with the whole court, a great philosopher, and reckoned the first mathematician of the age, and has the character of uncommon virtue and probity.' Percival writes in reply (18th July, 1713) that he hears Dr Swift has said that Dr Arbuthnot has not become a convert to the Berkeleian philosophy. Berkeley, however, explains (4th Aug. 1713) that he and Arbuthnot still differ concerning some notions of the necessity of the laws of nature, but that Arbuthnot acknowledges he can object nothing to the main contention of the non-existence of matter.

Still another well-known person in literary London of this period whom Berkeley met was George

¹ *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous.*

Smalridge (1663—1719), afterwards Bishop of Bristol, whom Swift styles 'the friend of Whiston.' 'He is a man,' writes Berkeley to Percival (2nd June, 1713), 'no less amiable for his cheerfulness of temper and good nature, then he is to be reputed for his piety and learning.' As the rival of Smalridge at this time for the Bishopric of Rochester, Berkeley mentions also Francis Atterbury (1662—1732), the clerical leader of the Jacobites, who obtained the preferment. This Tory orator likewise conceived a profound admiration for the young philosopher. When Atterbury was asked by Lord Berkeley of Stratton what he thought of his kinsman, after their first meeting, he replied, 'so much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and so much humility I did not think had been the portion of angels till I saw this gentleman.'

This early London correspondence of Berkeley with Percival affords unmistakable evidence of how quickly and completely Berkeley won his way into close intimacy with the men of letters, who shed lustre on the reign of Queen Anne. He was welcomed alike by Whig and Tory, at a time when literary leaders were also the allies of statesmen. His wonderful charm of manner gave him ready access to the hearts of all. The excellence of his wit made him thereafter courted for a delightful companion. The simplicity and sincerity of his character bound acquaintances to him in ties of lifelong friendship. One begins to understand the enthusiastic admiration of Pope, which led him in the well-known line to attribute

'To Berkeley every virtue under heaven.'

At this juncture a sudden change occurred in the career of Berkeley. The charms of literary London were abandoned for the purpose of travel on the continent. His wanderings abroad included two separate journeys, covering a period of nearly eight years (1713—1721), broken by two years (1715—1716) of residence

in England. In his first tour Berkeley acted as chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough (1658—1735), who had been appointed ambassador extraordinary for the coronation of the King of Sicily. It was Swift who had recommended his compatriot for this position in the suite of the famous Earl, this nobleman being then regarded as one of the first diplomats of Europe. In a letter of the 15th of October, 1713, Berkeley first announces to Percival his intention of going on this tour to Sicily, and on the 25th of October (O.S.) sets out from London. Crossing from Dover to Calais he proceeds by stage-coach to Paris in company with Murdoch Martin, author of the 'Voyage of St Kilda,' and also of 'A description of the Western islands of Scotland' (1703). 'The inhabitants of St Kilda,' Berkeley says (24th Nov. 1713), 'contributed not a little to their diversion on the road.'

In Paris Berkeley passed his time between calls on distinguished foreigners and statesmen, study of the architecture of various noble buildings, and visits to the numerous galleries of painting and sculpture. He also attended divinity disputations in the Sorbonne. He mentions having seen, among others, Matthew Prior (1664—1721), the poet and diplomatist, who was at that time the Queen's plenipotentiary. 'I have here met,' he likewise writes to Percival on the 24th of November, 1713, 'with a pleasant ingenious gentleman, Mons. l'Abbé d'Aubigne, chevalier of the order of St Lazarus, who has undertaken to show me everything that is curious. I have spent the last two days with him: to-day he is to introduce me to Father Malebranche, a famous philosopher in this city; and to-morrow we go together to Versailles.' If ever Berkeley met the French philosopher it would most probably have been on this occasion, but we have no later reference to any such interview. Certainly the story related of a heated discussion in October, 1715, between these philosophers, whereby the death of Malebranche was hastened, is not only rendered improbable, owing to the affable

character of the English philosopher, but is also directly refuted by the fact that Berkeley was in London during that month. It would be well therefore if this myth were buried.

After a month spent in Paris Berkeley proceeded to Lyons, where he found the city *en fête* with the setting up of a statue to the King. He was joined here by Mr Oglethorpe, who is the same person, it is believed, that afterwards shared with Percival in the colonisation of Georgia. Together they crossed Mount Cenis on New Years, 1714. In Turin Berkeley spent eleven days, then proceeding to Genoa. In these cities, colleges, libraries, and bookstalls were the places he most frequented. Learning, however, did not appear to him greatly to flourish, inasmuch as he was shown (4th Feb. 1714) in a Franciscan Library a Hebrew Bible which the friar thought was English. At Genoa Lord Peterborough overtook his party and sailed with it in a felucca to Leghorn. From Leghorn the ambassador set out in a Maltese vessel for Palermo, leaving behind most of his retinue to await his return. During the absence of the Earl, Berkeley improved his time by the further study of French and Italian, and by visits to the various towns of Northern Italy. He mentions especially Pisa, Lucca, and Florence as cities he then had opportunity of seeing. Nothing he beholds, however, causes him any desire to live out of England or Ireland. 'The description,' he writes to Percival on the 1st of May, 1714, 'that we find in the Latin poets makes me expect Elysian fields and the golden age in Italy. But in my opinion England is a more poetical country, the spring there is forwarder and lasts longer, purling streams are more numerous, and the fields and groves have a cheerfuller green, the only advantage, here, is in point of air, which as you know is warmer and dryer than with us, though I doubt whether it be generally more wholesome.' Three months were spent by Berkeley in Leghorn while 'my Lord' was in Sicily, and as Peterborough was

plenipotentiary to all the courts of Italy possibly on his return other places were visited. Berkeley and Peterborough at length parted company in Genoa, the former embarking with Robert Molesworth (1665—1725), previously an envoy at Florence, and the latter taking post for Turin with the intention of passing over the Alps. After a pleasant journey Berkeley arrived on the 10th of July, 1714, in Paris. Three days later he writes to Percival that he has taken a place in the Brussels coach, designing to return to England through Flanders and Holland. In August, 1714, he reached London, and his first continental tour was thus completed. Foreign travel had, however, introduced him to scenes of such interest that he was soon again to be lured abroad.

The letters written by Berkeley from London to Percival in Dublin during the next two years relate almost wholly to political subjects. The death of Anne on the 1st of August, 1714, and the accession of George the First, had brought about an unsettled state of affairs in Great Britain, due to the pretensions of James Edward Stuart (1688—1766) to the throne. The interests of the dissenters had been bound up with the Hanoverian succession so that in 1715 when the Pretender was proclaimed the Jacobites began to pull down the meeting-houses, which had been built under the Act of Toleration of 1689. Berkeley says (28th July, 1715), however, that the Tories with whom he converses express an honest detestation of these proceedings. Berkeley, moreover, sends Percival at this time a somewhat detailed account of the events during the rebellion of 1715. He was present (9th Aug. 1715) in the House of Commons when the articles of impeachment were agreed upon against the Duke of Ormond (1665—1745), who was particularly suspected of having acted with Marshal Villars during the campaign in Flanders. The flight of the Duke into France was especially urged against him, as having an appearance of guilt. In France Ormond openly espoused the

cause of the Pretender, and three months later made a descent upon the coast of Devonshire, expecting the Tories of the western counties to rise for James. In this he was disappointed, and after 'laying only one night ashore' again withdrew to France. Meanwhile rebellion was rife also in Scotland. The Earl of Mar (1675—1732) assumed the leadership of the rebels and marched south at the head of a large body of troops. But at Sheriffmuir on the 13th of November, 1715, he virtually met defeat, through the prompt action of the Duke of Argyll (1678—1743) with a much inferior force. Mar and the Pretender (who had come to Scotland) fled to France, and the Scottish rebellion came to a sudden close.

It is one of the misfortunes of these troublesome times, Berkeley tells Percival (17th Nov. 1715), that books and literature seem to be forgotten. He would rather correspond with him on the beauties of Latin authors than on the subject of public news. As if ready to abandon a life thus incompatible with philosophical meditation Berkeley now sought preferment in the Irish Church. The Prince of Wales, doubtless at the instigation of the philosophical Princess Caroline, recommended him to succeed Charles Carr in the living of St Paul's in Dublin. Percival also wrote a letter (28th May, 1716) to the Duke of Grafton (1683—1757) in behalf of Berkeley. On the first of June, 1716, Charles Dering writes however to Percival that Berkeley was not likely to succeed, as 'the Lord Justices had made a strong representation against him.' Possibly the suspicion of Jacobitism against Berkeley, due to his sermon on 'Passive Obedience,' delivered at Trinity College in 1712, may again have been made use of by his opponents to secure his defeat.

Thus unengaged, and with a fresh leave of absence from Trinity, in the autumn of 1716 Berkeley again goes abroad. His travels on the continent in this second tour cover a period of between four and five years (1716—1721). During this period he had

as a travelling companion St George Ashe, the only son of St George Ashe (1658?—1718), who was the Bishop of Clogher, and a friend of Swift. Berkeley acted as tutor to Ashe, and found him 'a modest, ingenious, and well natured young gentleman.' Together the two travellers passed through France, which they found in a bad state politically, the Duke of Orleans, its regent, being much disliked owing to the recent alliance with England. The crossing of Mt Cenis was made under severer conditions than Berkeley had experienced on the previous journey, as on this occasion he saw two avalanches, was suffered to fall several times on the brinks of precipices, and was threatened by a wolf. On the 22nd of November, 1716, they reached Turin. The route from this city, which they designed to take, was through Milan, Parma, Modena, Bologna, Florence, Siena, Rome, etc., as that would be the means of seeing the best part of the cities of Italy.

In Rome, which was reached as early as the 7th of January, 1717, Berkeley tarried longer than he had intended, owing to the enchantment of the ancient city. His 'Journal of a tour in Italy,' as preserved for most of the year 1717, reveals the minuteness and accuracy of his observation. The famous library of the Vatican, the celebrated villas and palaces, the galleries with portraits such as those of Titian that 'seemed to breathe,' the bookshops and churches, were the attractions at Rome to which he chiefly devoted his attention. There were also calls upon Cardinals, and music in the homes of Princes. 'I have got eyes,' he writes Percival (1st March, 1716), 'but no ears. I would say that I am a judge of painting but not of music!.' But powerful as was the spell of Rome, the natural charms of Naples, to which Berkeley next proceeded, gave him still another source of inspiration. The descriptions he sends to Percival of this region have almost an Horatian touch. 'The

¹ *Life, letters, and unpublished writings of George Berkeley*, by A. C. Fraser, Oxford, 1871, pp. 512-594.

air of this happy part of the world,' he says (6th April, 1716), 'is soft and delightful beyond conception, being perfumed with myrtle shrubs and orange groves that are everywhere scattered throughout the country; the sky almost constantly serene and blue; the heat tempered to a just warmth by refreshing breezes from the sea....If enchanting prospects be a temptation, surely there are not more or finer anywhere than here, rude mountains, fruitful hills, shady vales, and green plains, with all the variety of sea as well as land. Prospects are the natural ornaments of this kingdom. *Nullus in orbe sinus Bais praelucet amoenis* was the opinion of one who had very good taste.'

From Naples Berkeley now made an itinerary to a part of classical Italy not often visited. In this tour, of which he gives a minute account in his 'Journal,' he crossed the Apennines and followed the shores of the Adriatic to the very heel of Italy. His way thus lay through the beautiful landscapes of Apulia, Peucetia, and old Calabria. Setting out from Naples on the 5th of May, 1717, he visited the small towns of Ardesa, Capua, and walled Arpae, on the road to Beneventum. In this city he found the ruins of an amphitheatre, streets paved with marble, and houses adorned with fragments of antiquity. Beyond Beneventum he passed among gentle hills and vales, as fruitful as in England, until he came to Cannae, famous for the victory here obtained by Hannibal. At Barletta he came to the Adriatic sea. Southward on its shore he passed the Castle of Bari and the walled town of Mola, and at length over the old Appian Way entered Brundisium. It was Lecce, however, which Berkeley regarded as the most beautiful city in all Italy. Nothing in his travels had proved more amazing than the incredible profusion of its ornamentation. 'There is not surely,' he says, 'the like rich architecture in the world. Even the poorest houses here possessed an excellent "gusto".' From Lecce he crossed a vine and olive planted country to Tarentum, where were the ruins of

old walls and of an amphitheatre. Passing northward along the Gulf of Tarentum, he pressed inward amid the hills and dales until he came to Venossa, where Horace was born. He then ascended the mountains to Ascoli, in which he found Roman bricks and inscriptions. From Ascoli he descended the Apennines to the fertile plains, and on the 9th of January, 1717, again arrived in Naples to find 'Vesuvius in a terrible fit.'

The summer months of 1717, following Berkeley's return 'from the most remote and unknown parts of Italy,' were spent by him on the beautiful island of Inorine ('vulgarly called Ischia'). This island, which is situated about six leagues from Naples, had the greatest charms for him, 'Nothing can be conceived,' he writes to Percival (1st Sept. 1717, N.S.), 'more romantic than the forces of nature, mountains, hills, and little plains being thrown together in a wild and beautiful variety.' The people, too, having neither riches nor honours were unacquainted with the vices attending them and might, as he tells Pope, 'answer to the poetical notions of the golden age.' But unfortunately they had the habit of murdering one another for trifles, which acts were compounded for by the governour at ten ducats for the life of a man. Berkeley had already been three months in Ischia when in September (1717) he thus described the island. During the succeeding months his Sicilian travels took place, these being prolonged until at least the end of February, 1718. That they were even more thorough than his previous southern tour we learn from his friend, Thomas Blackwell. 'With the widest views he descended into a minute detail, and begrudged neither pains nor expense for the means of information. He travelled through a great part of Sicily on foot, clambered over the mountains and crept into the caverns to investigate into its natural history and discover the causes of its volcanoes; and I have known him to sit for hours in forges and founderies to inspect their

successive operations¹. Two Latin letters² addressed

¹ T. Blackwell's *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*, Edin., 1755, II. pp. 277-8.

² These Latin letters, which have heretofore escaped the notice of Berkeley's biographers, are contained in the preface of a work by the above-mentioned Sicilian poet. My attention has been drawn to them through the courtesy of Prof. J. Douglas Bruce, who has also written about them in *The Nation* (N.Y.) of 10th of July, 1913. Owing to their importance they are here reprinted:

D. Tommaso Campailla, *L' Adamo, ovvero il Mondo Creato*; poema filosofico. Messina, MDCCXXVIII.

Al Savio Lettore.

D. Jacopo de Mazara, ed echebelz.

* * * * *

‘Solamente quì sotto aggiungerò la testimonianza, che nefà il Signor Giorgio Berkeley, formoso Letterato Inglese, ora graduato in Irlanda, in due sue lettere Latine, drizzate all' Auttore, in occasione d' avergli fatto copia di alcuni esemplari de' primi Canti di questo Poema, e del Discorso del Moto degli Animalì, per farli osservare all' Accademia della Regia Società di Londra.’

Messanae, Februarii 25, 1718.

CLARISSIME VIR,

Ex itinere per universam Insulam instituto jam tandem, favente numine, reversus, animum jucundissima memoriâ Siculorum hospitum, atque amicorum, praesertim quos ingenio, atque eruditione praestantes inviserim, subinde reficio. Porrò inter illos quanti te faciam, vir doctissime, faciliùs ruente concipi, quam verbis exprimi potest. Id unum me malè habet, quod, exaudito tuo colloquio diutius frui per itineris festinationem non licuerit. Clarissimos ingenii tui fructus, quos mihi impartiri dignatus sis, quam primùm Londinum pervenero, aequius illiusmodi Rerum Aestimatoribus distribuendos, curabo. Si quid interim aliud occurrat, quod ad Societatem Regiam Londinensem transmitti cupias, id, modo mittatur ad D.D. Portem. Hoare & Allen Anglos, negotii causâ Messanae commorantes, ad me, ubicumque tandem sim, perveniet: Porro Neutoni nostri Naturalis Philosophia Principia Mathematica, si quando in Patriam sospes rediero ad te transmittenda dabo, vel si quâ alia râtione commodis tuis inservire possim, reperies me, si minus potentem, promptum tamen, omnique ossequio

Humillimum servum

G. BERKELEY.

Londoni, Kalendis Julii, 1723.

CLARISSIME VIR,

Post longam quinque fermè annorum peregrinationem, variosque casus, et discrimina, nunc demum in Angliam redux, nihil antiquius habeo, quàm fidem meam tibi quondam obligatam. Deus bone! Ab illo tempore quot clades, quot rerum mutationes, tam apud vos, quam apud nos! Sed mittamus haec tristia. Libros tuos, prout in mandatis habui, Viro erudito è Societate Regia tradidi, qui, cum solertiam, et ingenium tuum pro meritis extimet, tum id plurimum miratur, tantum scientiae lumen in extremo Siciliae angulo tam diù delituisse. Tele-scopium quod attinet Catoptricum, è metallo confectum, id quidem olim

by Berkeley to Tommaso Campailla (1668—1740), the Sicilian philosophical poet, afford evidence that in Sicily, as elsewhere throughout Italy, the attractive personal qualities of the philosopher gave him ready access to the prominent and cultured residents. Berkeley's 'Journal'¹ of this tour is not extant, but it is apparent from a letter to Percival that his travels in this island greatly influenced his taste in architecture. 'I assure your Lordship,' he writes (28th July, 1718) on his return to Rome, 'there is not one modern building in Rome that pleases me, except the wings of the capitol built by Michael Angelo and the colonnade of Berninies before St Peter.... This gusto of mine is formed on the remains of antiquity that I have met with in my travels, particularly in Sicily, which convince me that the old Romans were inferiour to the Greeks, and that the moderns fall infinitely short of both in the grandeur and simplicity of taste.' This utterance is worthy of a Shaftesbury.

The letters from Berkeley to Percival in 1718 indicate that the philosopher spent the months from April to November of that year in Rome. The news of the death of Bishop Ashe, which occurred on the 27th of February, 1718, at first threatened to deprive him of the companionship of young Ashe, but through the

aggressus est Neutonus; verum res ex voto non successit; nam impossibile erat, nitidum chalybis splendorem usque eò conservare, ut Stellarum imagines distincte exhiberet; proinde hujusmodi Telescopia, nec in usu sunt, nec unquam fuere; nec, praeter unicum illud, quod Author, experimenti causâ fabricavit, ullum factum esse unquam, vel fando accepi. Hodie certè apud nostrates non reperiuntur. Caeterùm librum clarissimi istius Philosophi juxta, ac Mathematici, quem spondebam missurum, ad te mitto, quem tanquam sinceræ amicitiae pignus accipias, quaeso. Tu interim, Vir clarissime, promovere rem litterariam, pergas; artesque bonas, et scientias in ea Insula serere, et propagare, ubi felicissimæ terræ indoles frugibus, et ingeniis apta ab omni aevo aequæ fuit. Scito, me tibi semper futurum

Addictissimum et humillimum servum

G. BERKELEY.

¹ Joseph Wharton says of Berkeley's Sicilian Journal: 'He went over Apulia and Calabria, and even travelled on foot through Sicily, and drew up an account of that very classical journey, which was lost on a voyage to Naples and cannot be sufficiently regretted.' Pope's *Works* (1797), II. 261.

advice of friends the latter continued with him until their return. Much time was spent by Berkeley during this summer in the buying of prints, terra cotta busts, and various antiques to repair the loss of Percival's previous collection. Books too were purchased both for Percival and for Lord Pembroke. 'The truth is,' Berkeley says (28th July, 1718), 'the Italians of the last and the present age are not worth importing into England. Those of the golden age of Pope Leo the Tenth are scarce and very hard to be met with.' Venice, however, was the great mart of books, and he hoped for larger success in his book-buying when he went hither. The Roman sojourn continued to be most agreeable to him, particularly owing to the presence of a number of English noblemen, until the arrival of the Pretender with a great swarm of followers. As the chevalier planned to make Rome his residence it became 'an uneasy place to men of different principles.' Berkeley therefore resolved (13th Nov. 1718) to leave the ancient city. No further letter to Percival is to be found until one dated at Florence 9/20 July, N.S. 1720. But at Rome in 1718 he had expressed his intention of going to Padua and Venice; on the 5th of June, 1719, he had received a new leave of absence for two years from Trinity College; and in the letter from Florence in midsummer of 1720 he says 'I have indeed been detained so long against my wishes on this side the Alps that I have lost patience.' It would seem a fair inference, then, that Berkeley may well have spent the year 1719 in the cities of Venetia, and thereby have completed a tour with Ashe of the whole of Italy. From Florence he set out in July, 1720, after numerous delays, on his homeward journey. In Lyons he tarried to complete his *De Motu*, which was the only philosophical treatise he wrote during his continental travels. At length after nearly five years (1716—1721) spent abroad on this second tour he again arrived in London.

This Italian tour of Berkeley was assuredly a

noteworthy accomplishment. Apparently the whole of Italy had been traversed, and certainly its remotest parts had been seen. The fear of bandits he regarded as a bugbear. Undoubtedly the charm of his personality had everywhere smoothed the way for him. The portion of his 'Journal' still extant reveals the accurate character of his observations, and if only he had left us his travels in the form of a book, with the literary grace of which he was capable, few works of a similar nature could have rivalled it in human interest. Italy too had fostered in him a deeper appreciation of the beauties of nature and had given him a wider knowledge of the realm of art. Moreover, there had been developed in him through his journeyings a spirit of adventure which presaged even greater achievements. But this *Wanderlust* had still to receive the promptings of a nobler inspiration. The occasion for it was at hand. When Berkeley returned to England he found the nation in profound agitation owing to the failure of the South Sea Company in its gigantic speculations connected with British trade in South America. This great fraud was accompanied by a host of lesser frauds. Such evidence of national corruption led the philosopher to write an 'Essay towards preventing the ruin of Great Britain.' In it he recommended a greater simplicity of life, the encouragement of art, and various sumptuary laws. His ardent spirit was evidently now controlled by the desire for philanthropic endeavour. Thus it was that romance and philanthropy became united as the essential factors that animated his subsequent scheme of founding a College in America.

Upon Percival in these years of Berkeley's absence (1713—1721) marks of royal esteem had been bestowed. Under Queen Anne he had been made a privy councillor, and upon the accession of George I had been continued in the new privy council. On the 21st of April, 1715, he was created Baron Percival of Burton in the county of Cork, being thereby admitted to a seat among the peers of Ireland. Again in

December, 1722, he was promoted by being created Viscount Percival of Kanturk, with an annual fee of twenty marks to be paid out of the Irish Exchequer. During the entire period of Berkeley's travels Percival had likewise proved the ever watchful mentor of the philosopher's interests. Shortly after Berkeley first left Dublin Percival wrote to him that it was reported that he did not mean to return, and received from him a refutation of the rumour. When Berkeley returned to London from his first tour on the continent Percival again informed him of the murmurs at his continued absence. To this Berkeley replied that he alone of the absentees had the royal consent. At the same time (1716) Berkeley's application for the living of St Paul's also received, as we have seen, the support of Percival in a letter to the Duke of Grafton. Now again upon Berkeley's return from his second tour abroad both Lord and Lady Percival sought to forward his efforts for preferment in the Church of Ireland.

After an absence of nearly nine years, in September, 1721, Berkeley returned once more to Trinity College, in Dublin. He had hardly set foot in Ireland when he heard that the Deanery of Dromore was vacant, and at once he applied for it to the Duke of Grafton. Before Lord Burlington (1695—1753), a man famous for his friendship with men of letters, he also laid the matter. He expresses (12th Oct. 1721) likewise his reliance on the influence of Lady Percival with the Duchess of Grafton. At length, after some months of suspense, in February, 1722, the seals of the Deanery of Dromore were passed. The right of appointment, however, was claimed (3rd March, 1722) by Dr Lambert, the Bishop of Dromore. The result was a prolonged lawsuit, in which Berkeley employed eight lawyers, and still feared that some of the best were on the other side. No wonder that he wrote (14th April, 1722) to Percival: 'God preserve your Lordship from law and lawyers.' In December, 1722, he crossed the channel, having a very dangerous passage, 'partly to

see friends, and partly to inform himself in some points of law not so well known in Ireland.' On arriving in London the first house he visited was Percival's in Pall Mall. While the lawsuit was thus still prolonged there were rumours of a probable vacancy in the Deanery of Derry, and this position seemed to offer a more favourable chance of success than the Deanery of Dromore.

The first intimation of Berkeley's American project to be found in his correspondence with Percival is contained in a letter of the 4th of March, 1723. In it he says: 'It is now about ten months since I have determined to spend the residue of my days in Bermuda, where I trust in Providence, I may be the mean instrument of doing great good to mankind. Your Lordship is not to be told that the reformation of manners among the English in our western plantations, and the propagation of the gospel among the American savages, are two points of high moment. The natural way of doing this is by founding a college or seminary in some convenient part of the West Indies where the English youth of our plantations may be educated in such sort as to supply their churches with pastors of good morals and good learning, a thing (God knows) much wanted.' As viewed from Britain, Bermuda appeared to him for various reasons to offer the fittest place to establish a college. The island was nearly equidistant from all the other American colonies, and had trade with them all. It had the best climate and an abundance of the necessary provisions of life. It was the securest from attack. Its people were characterized by simplicity of manners. And men would not be tempted by any enriching products to turn from their studies in order to become traders. Then, too, there were the surpassing beauties of Bermuda, 'the summer refreshed with constant, cool breezes, the winters as mild as our May, the sky as light and blue as a sapphire, the ever green pastures, the earth eternally crowned with fruits and flowers. The woods

of cedars, palmettos, myrtles, oranges, etc., always fresh and blooming.' And for residence it was a place 'where men may find, in fact, whatsoever the most poetical imagination can figure to itself in the golden age, or the Elysian fields.'

The chief occasion for this project of Berkeley's has already been indicated. Reflection on a corrupted state of society in the old world as evidenced particularly by the South Sea bubble had caused him to turn with eagerness to a more unsullied condition of men and affairs which he believed to exist across the seas. In the new world, also, it was not the continent with its numerous temptations due to settled life, but the sea-girt Bermuda islands with their innocence and security, that at first seemed to him to offer the greatest advantages for a college, from which should radiate an influence that might create a new utopia. If, however, this dream were to become a reality, it did not suffice that he alone should be convinced of the reasonableness of his scheme, he had also the task before him of convincing others in order that he might obtain material support. To attain this end Berkeley with unrivalled powers of personal persuasion spent several years.

At this juncture Berkeley's Bermuda plan was favoured by one of the most remarkable strokes of fortune in the annals of literary history: 'Mrs Hester van Omry' he writes to Percival (4th June, 1723), 'a lady to whom I was a perfect stranger, having never in the whole course of my life to my knowledge, exchanged one single word with her, died on Sunday night. Yesterday her will was opened, by which it appears that I am constituted executor the advantages whereof is computed by those who understand her affairs to be worth three thousand pounds, and if a suit she had depending be carried, it will be considerably more.' Thus had Berkeley become the heir of Swift's Vanessa. It was the sequel of a long rivalry between two women for the affections of the illustrious

Dean, in which one of them had apparently triumphed. Vanessa had written to ascertain from Stella the nature of the relation between her and Swift, were they married¹? This letter came into the hands of Swift and in great anger he returned it to Vanessa without a word. In a few weeks Vanessa died, but not before she had revoked a will in favour of Swift, and made another, dated the 1st of May, 1723, in which she divided her property between Berkeley and Robert Marshal. Percival congratulated Berkeley (30th June, 1723) on his good fortune, but with his customary caution advised him also to secure the protection and encouragement of the government. In addition to this bequest from Vanessa, the favour of the church, also, was at length bestowed on Berkeley. The Deanery of Down had become vacant, and despairing of the Deanery of Dromore he sought to obtain the former in the belief that its possession would greatly aid in securing a charter for the proposed college. On the 5th of May, 1724, he was able to write Percival: 'I can now tell your Lordship that yesterday I received my patent for the best Deanery in this kingdom, that of Derry.' This Deanery was believed to be worth £1500 per annum. The Vanessa legacy and the Deanery alike were received by Berkeley with gladness, not as a means of enriching himself, but because they would facilitate and recommend the Bermuda scheme.

Percival now for the second time urged Berkeley to seek the support of the government for his American project. The royal charter had still to be secured and

¹ One of the proofs given in favour of this marriage is the statement of George Monck Berkeley, grandson of Bishop Berkeley, that 'in 1716, they were married by the Bishop of Clogher, who himself related the circumstance to Bishop Berkeley, by whose relict the story was communicated to me.' *Literary Relics*, Lond. 1789, p. xxxvi. This correspondence, however, shows that Berkeley and the younger Ashe were in Italy in 1716, and that the Bishop of Clogher died before their return, so that oral intercourse was impossible. If either Berkeley or the younger Ashe were supposed to have received such information by letter, the numerous intermediate links necessary before it reached George Monck Berkeley greatly lessen the value of the evidence.

private subscriptions to be gained. The philosopher, therefore, set out for London in September, 1724, equipped with a letter of mingled humour and sober commendation from Swift to obtain these ends. 'His heart will break,' says Swift to Lord Carteret, the new Lord Lieutenant, 'if the Deanery be not taken from him and left to your Excellency's disposal. I discouraged him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And, therefore, I humbly entreat your Excellency to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men of the kingdom at home, or assist him by your credit to accomplish his design.' On the 6th of February, 1725, Lord Percival writes to Philip Percival at Dublin that Berkeley's pamphlet¹ had appeared, and that the Dean was then busy getting out his charter. The patent constituting the college of St Paul's in Bermuda passed the seals in June, 1725. Berkeley was named as the first President, and William Rogers, Jonathan Thompson and James King, belonging to Trinity College, were to be Fellows. Funds for the project were rapidly contributed. Percival himself proposed to give £200 and the scheme was favoured by all classes. The subscriptions from private sources amounted (Feb. 26th, 1726) to £4000. Percival, Dr Bray, Mr Hales and his brother, and Mr Beleitha were appointed trustees for the disposal of these contributions. But there was still another possible source of income. The sale of land in St Christopher's which belonged to England by the peace at the close of Queen Anne's wars amounted to £80,000, and was intended by her for the support of four bishops in America. This design having been neglected during the two following reigns it was now

¹ This tract was entitled 'A proposal for the better supplying of churches in our foreign plantations, and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity, by a college to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the isles of Bermuda.' Here the eloquent argument for the plan was largely a reproduction of the reasons given in Berkeley's letter of the 4th of March, 1723, to Percival.

thought that a grant of £20,000 of that money might be obtained towards founding the college in Bermuda. The affair of St Christopher's was introduced into the House of Commons in February, 1726. It was solicited by Berkeley with all the diligence, patience and skill of which he was capable, and in May he was able to write to Percival that a grant out of the lands of St Christopher's for the endowment of a college in the Summer Islands had been carried, contrary to all men's expectations.

Heretofore it has been uncertain when and where those famous verses, in which were expressed the exalted hopes entertained by Berkeley for the future greatness of America, were first written. But in Berkeley's letter to Percival, dated the 10th of February, 1726, he says: 'You have annexed a poem wrote by a friend of mine with a view to the scheme. Your Lordship is desired to shew it to none but of your own family, and suffer no copy to be taken of it.' And at the close of the letter there follows:

'AMERICA, OR THE MUSE'S REFUGE.

A Prophecy.

The muse offended at this age, these climes
Where nought she found fit to rehearse,
Waits now in distant lands for better times,
Producing subjects worthy verse.
In happy climes, where from the genial sun
And virgin earth fair scenes ensue,
Such scenes as shew that fancy is outdone,
And make poetic fiction true,' etc.

Berkeley entertains also (17th May, 1726) the pleasing hope that some day both Lord and Lady Percival may visit the happy Western Islands. Meantime it would be an honour if only they would send their eldest son, John, to be educated in the new college, and if that should prove impossible he makes a claim upon them for their second, George. Already he had obtained in Ireland the consent of half a dozen promising men of Trinity College to join him in his plan, and since he had come to England he had found a dozen men of

quality who had expressed their intention of retiring to the Summer Islands, 'to build villas and plant gardens, and to enjoy health of body and peace of mind.'

More than two years had passed after the grant for the college had been made by the House of Commons, and still the money had not been paid. At length, resolved to wait no longer, Berkeley and his party, on the 4th of September, 1728, embarked at Gravesend for America. Berkeley feared that if he continued longer in England the report which had begun to circulate that he had abandoned his design would be accepted as true. He believed, therefore, that it was necessary to go in order to convince the world that he was in earnest. On the other hand, he chose to depart in a private way lest those who had assisted in the undertaking should censure him for going abroad before the King's bounty was received. In taking leave of Percival he announces (3rd Sept. 1728) for the first time to him his marriage¹ to Anne, daughter of John Forster, lately a chief justice of the common pleas of Ireland. He had chosen her for 'the qualities of her mind and unaffected inclination to books.' She had consented to go 'with great thankfulness to live a plain farmer's life and wear stuff of her own spinning.' The others of the company were Miss Handcock, a friend of his wife, Richard Dalton, of Lincolnshire, a close acquaintance of both Benson and Secker, John James, afterwards Sir John James, Bart., and John Smibert², an English artist, who

¹ According to Berkeley's biographer, Stock, the marriage occurred on the 1st of August, 1728.

² John Smibert (1684?-1751) had occupied a studio near Covent Garden, and there most probably painted the portrait of Berkeley, now in the National Gallery, in London, which has been reproduced as a frontispiece of this book. Another portrait of Berkeley by Smibert is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in Boston, Mass. Smibert's painting of the philosopher in a group with the other members of his party is in Trumbull Hall at Yale University, New Haven, Conn. There is a copy of Smibert's Berkeley, by Hart, in the Redwood Library, Newport; another copy by Pratt in Sayles Hall, at Brown University;

became the first trained American portrait painter. The intended fellows were not of the party, as doubtless it was preferred that they should await the more complete establishment of the college.

Although Rhode Island was Berkeley's destination, Virginia has the distinction of having been his first landing place in America. His vessel put in at the southern port early in January, 1729, on her way, and he was received, as he tells Percival (7th Feb. 1729), with many honours by the governor and the principal inhabitants. During his short stay he visited at Harrisburg the College of William and Mary, with which he was much pleased. Sailing again northward he reached Newport, in Rhode Island, on the 23rd of January, 1729. In the 'Boston Gazette' of Monday, Jan. 27, 1729, we read: 'By letters from Newport, we have an account of the 24th instant, that Captain Cobb arrived there from London the day before, but last from Virginia, having Dean Berkeley on board, etc., who were 4 months and 16 days before they got there, and 5 months to Rhode Island from London.' 'The New England Weekly Journal' of Monday, February 3rd, 1729, adds to the notice of the Dean's arrival on the 23rd: 'He is a gentleman of middle stature, of an agreeable, pleasant and erect aspect. He was ushered into town with a great number of gentlemen, to whom he behaved himself after a very complaisant manner. 'Tis said he purposes to tarry herewith with his family about three months.'

In the Percival correspondence several reasons appear (20th Sept. 1729) why Berkeley did not proceed directly to Bermuda, but chose to settle for a time in Newport. One reason was, because by the terms of his patent if he had gone directly to the Island he would have had to vacate his Deanery within a year, and to have taken such a risk would have been

and also a copied portrait of Berkeley in Berkeley University, California. }
 Paintings of Captain John Gerrish and Mrs Hannah Gardner McSparren
 by Smibert are also in possession of the Art Museum in Boston.

imprudent until it became certain that the government grant would be paid. Another reason was that in going to Rhode Island he could obtain lands by the cultivation of which he proposed to supply his Bermudian college with provisions. In coming abroad to make such a temporary residence in Rhode Island he showed, too, that he was in earnest in his scheme. At the same time he would be in a convenient location to pass to Bermuda when the promised funds were received. On the whole, a better place than Newport for this sojourn could not have been chosen by a man of cultivated tastes with a desire to lead a retired life. The climate he found like that of Italy, north of Rome, though not so cold. 'The town,' he says, 'is prettily built, contains about five thousand inhabitants and hath a very fine harbour.' The charms of the soft rural and ocean scenery in its vicinity did not fail to appeal to one who had dwelt on the beautiful island of Inarime. He fears (28th March, 1729) to describe these charms lest he run the risk of being thought romantic. The happy response of his poetic temperament to the loveliness of nature in the environs of Newport finds expression in his descriptions of them later in 'Alciphron.'

For nearly three years Berkeley had to wait the outcome of his Bermuda scheme. After several months' residence in Newport he perfected the purchase of land and built a house in a beautiful location about three miles from the town. The place he called 'Whitehall' in loyal remembrance of the London Palace of the English Kings from Henry VIII to James II. Here he began his domestic life. 'For my amusement' he writes Percival (27th June, 1729), 'I have got a little son.' And on the 30th of August he remarks of this first child named Henry by him¹:

¹ The children of Berkeley were: (1) Henry, bapt. 1st Sept. 1729 in Newport; a resident in Ireland in 1752. (2) Lucia, b. in Feb. 1731. On the tombstone of Nathaniel Kay in Trinity Churchyard, Newport, is this inscription: 'Joining to the south of this tomb lies Lucia Berkeley. Obiit the 5th of September, 1731.' (3) George, b. 28th Sept. 1733 in

'My little son thrives, and we are already flattered by the neighbours upon his parts and person.' Berkeley's companions, Dalton, James, and Smibert were early lured to Boston, 'the great place of pleasure and resort in these parts,' but the retirement of Whitehall was more agreeable to him 'after the long fatigue of business.' His relations with the people of the place were most friendly. Visitors were not infrequent at Whitehall, but he himself rarely left Newport. Of the rest of New England he saw very little, not even visiting Boston until the time of his departure from it for England. On his arrival he had been met very cordially by the Rev. James Honyman, rector of Trinity Church in Newport, and for a time he resided in this clergyman's house. Accompanied by Smibert he also visited the Rev. James McSparren at Narragansett. In Rhode Island there was large toleration in religious opinions and the Quakers and 'other sectaries' flocked to hear him as often as he preached in Trinity¹. Best of all he found a welcome for his philosophy which had not yet been accorded it in England. The first able metaphysical thinker to accept the Berkeleian system was the Rev. Samuel Johnson², then a rector in Stratford, Connecticut, and subsequently the first President of King's College. With him Berkeley held delightful intercourse in regard to their common faith and philosophy. There was also a sufficient number of cultivated people

London, m. Eliza Frinsham in 1761, d. 6th Jan. 1795. He was the father of George Monck Berkeley, the author of *Literary Relics*. (4) John, bapt. 11th April, 1735, d. Oct. 1735. (5) William, bapt. 10th Dec. 1736, d. at Cloyne in March, 1751. (6) Julia, bapt. at Cloyne, 25th Oct. 1738.

¹ In 1733 Berkeley gave an organ valued at £500 to Trinity Church, which was used by it for many years. Its handsome walnut and oak case, surmounted by a gilded crown and mitre, still enclose the present organ. The original keyboard is in possession of the Historical Society in Newport.

² In 1752 Johnson published in support of the Berkeleian philosophy a work entitled 'Elementa philosophica: Noetica, or things relating to the mind or understanding; and Ethica, or things relating to the behaviour.'

Jonathan Edwards, too, held a system of idealism similar to Berkeley's, but he is believed to have arrived at it independently of the English philosopher.

interested in speculative topics to unite with Berkeley in the formation of a 'Philosophical Society¹' in Newport.

Amid surroundings such as we have described, it is not surprising that Berkeley, early in his sojourn at Newport, should have been impressed with its suitability for his proposed college. In the very first letter (7th Feb. 1729) to Percival after he reached there he says: 'And (that which pleases me beyond all things) there is a more probable prospect of doing good here than in any other part of the world. I am so fully convinced of this, that (were it in my power) I should not demur one moment about situating our college here.' He still intended, however, to carry out his original plan of placing his college in Bermuda, if a change of location should prevent his obtaining the government grant. The steps taken in regard to such a change were at first of a somewhat pronounced character. He even writes to some friends giving as he believes the weightiest reasons for the northern location, but considers it not advisable to discuss the situation until the St Christopher's money is paid. Percival says (12th June, 1729) those with whom he has conversed think that Rhode Island would be a better place than Bermuda in which to establish a college, but he is unable to state what prospect there would be of getting the £20,000. The purchase of lands in Rhode Island is at all events, he adds, no secret in England. The keenest critic by far in America of the Bermudian plan was William Byrd (1674—1744), a wealthy colonial Virginian, and a man of letters. Byrd had been educated in England, possessed a superb private library, and wielded a virile pen. In a letter (10th June, 1729) to Percival he directs the shafts of his trenchant wit against the 'romantic' project. The Dean he regards 'as much a Don Quixote in zeal, as that renowned knight was

¹ From this Society originated the present Redwood Library of Newport.

in chivalry.' In the dream of Bermuda¹ as offering a climatic and scenic elysium for a college, Berkeley was, however, more nearly right than his opponent. But there cannot be a successful institution of learning without students, and it is here that Byrd wisely and wittily points out the real defect of the project. To obtain students, he says, 'the Dean must have the command of half a dozen regiments, with which he, or one of his professors, in the quality of a Lieutenant General, must make a descent upon the coast of Florida, and take as many prisoners as he can. Nor will your Lordship think this extravagant, considering that a wild scheme in order to be consistent with itself should have wild measures to carry it on.' As an instance of the Dean's un wisdom Byrd with a southern bias remarks upon the imprudence of purchasing land in a northern colony, perchance overlooking the other advantages of intercourse with those he elsewhere styles the 'Saints of New England.' Percival briefly replies (3rd Dec. 1729) to Byrd that the Dean has already had ample chance in Rhode Island of seeing things with his own eyes, and is as resolute to proceed as ever.

For the payment of the government grant of £20,000 Berkeley was destined to wait at Newport in vain. He had written Robert Clayton (1695—1758) to whom he had given the charge of his college affairs, to make a demand upon the Treasury for a direct answer as to its intention, but no reply had been forthcoming. Dr Clayton having been appointed to the Bishopric of Killala in 1729—30, Martin Benson (1689—1752), then Archdeacon of Berkshire, and afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, 'a true friend of Berkeley,' was through Percival chosen to take into custody the patents and college seal, and to inform the

¹ William Dean Howells says of the island, 'there is more beauty to the square foot in Bermuda than anywhere else in the world....I used to recall Italy there, but for beauty Italy is nowhere beside Bermuda, and has only the advantage of being historical.' *Harper's Magazine*, Dec. 1911, p. 16.

Dean what course he had better take or what he might expect. Percival had even begun (9th July, 1730) to think that if the money were paid it would only be by some miraculous influence from above. ✓ Lord Townshend (1674—1738) he had heard 'had some politic reason against advancing learning in America,' but he had recently resigned from the government. Another Lord, too, considered that learning might tend to make the colonies independent of the mother country. The Bishop of Salisbury remarked afterwards, 'that all was done out of regard to the man, not the design.' Percival, however, maintained that many wise and good men differed from his Lordship. Governour Hunter of New York also was said to have disapproved of Bermuda, but Percival had replied that that was because the Governour would have Berkeley, as he told him, settle in New York. Undoubtedly the chief weapon used against the college was the rumour which had spread that the original plan of Bermuda as a location had been abandoned. In vain Berkeley strove to undeceive the people, trying to make clear that he had decided that Bermuda after all was the proper place, especially as the money had been voted for that location. In vain, too, Percival declared on all occasions that Berkeley's residence in Rhode Island was only temporary, and that it was his ultimate purpose to settle in Bermuda. Sir Robert Walpole (1676—1745) Percival writes (23rd Dec. 1730) has said in confidence to Mr Hutchinson that the money would never be paid. To Edmund Gibson (1669—1748), the Bishop of London, Walpole also said when pressed for a definite reply: 'If you put this question to me as a minister, I must, and can, assure you, that the money shall undoubtedly be paid, as soon as suits with public convenience; but if you ask me as a friend, whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of £20,000, I advise him by all means to return to Europe, and to give up his present expectations.' Berkeley was thus

at length compelled to give up all hopes of carrying out his cherished design. The disappointment lay heavy upon his spirits, but the influences adverse to his project were beyond his control. There was no alternative but to tell (2nd March, 1731) Percival that his thoughts were now set towards Europe, where he would endeavour to be useful in some other way. But his departure was delayed for a time owing to the birth of his daughter Lucia. The child lived, however, only a few months, as she died on the 5th of September, 1731, and was buried in Trinity Churchyard, Newport. A few days after this sad closing experience in America, Berkeley bade farewell to Rhode Island, and sailing a little later from Boston, Massachusetts, arrived in London on the 30th of October, 1731, having been absent a little over three years.

The elevation of sentiment and the means employed in the mission of Berkeley make it something more than the 'romantic design' of Swift. 'The founding of a college for the spreading of religion and learning in America,' was no foolish project. In the choice of Bermuda for its location, it is true, Berkeley erred, not because, as we have said, the island was lacking in natural and climatic fitness, but owing to its distance from the continent. Of the correctness of the conviction entertained by him, when he first arrived in America, of the suitability of Rhode Island for an institution of learning the founding of Brown University in that state is a permanent proof. Newport with its delightful location and picturesque surroundings would have been an ideal place for a college, and one founded there under the inspiration of Berkeley could not have failed to justify in large measure the philosopher's dreams of benefit through it to America. Granted this continental location for the college, the opinion of Thomas Blackwell, who was invited by Berkeley to be one of the young professors on the new foundation, showed true foresight of its value when he said that 'it was a loss to the western world when this noble and

exalted plan of an American University was not carried into execution.' Berkeley certainly had displayed in the project a rare gift in the ability with which he aroused in others an enthusiasm for it similar to his own, an undoubted heroism of example in leading the way abroad, and an entire unselfishness of ideals in seeking to promote Christian civilization in the New World.

The influence and inspiration of Berkeley's visit¹ and efforts have not been lost in America. Better, possibly, than the founding of a single college has been the stimulus felt in this continent, at first from his personal aid and counsel, and later even more by the thought of his heroic devotion in behalf of higher education. The halo of his illustrious name has not been confined to a particular locality or institution. His own gifts to its colleges were made in spite of any sectarian differences which have prevailed. Owing largely to personal intercourse with the Rev. Samuel Johnson and the Rev. Jared Eliot he was best acquainted with the 'College at New Haven.' Some clergymen who had been educated there had also become Anglican. Upon his return to England as this college 'came nearest his own plan he was desirous to encourage it,' and therefore recommended it as he says (14th March, 1732) to his subscribers. In the year 1732, he sent to its President a deed of Whitehall² at

¹ Among authoritative works to be consulted on Berkeley's visit to America are Daniel C. Gilman's 'Bishop Berkeley's gifts to Yale College' in the 'New Haven Historical Society Papers,' vol. 1. 1865, pp. 147-170; Noah Porter's 'The two-hundredth birthday of Bishop George Berkeley,' N.Y. 1885; Moses Coit Tyler's 'Three men of letters,' N.Y. 1895 ('Berkeley and his American visit,' pp. 3-70); and Charles Rawson Thurston's 'Bishop Berkeley in New England,' *The New England Magazine*, vol. XXI. 1899, pp. 64-82 (illustrated).

A Latin oration upon the life and character of Bishop Berkeley was delivered at the time of his death by Ezra Stiles, afterwards President of Yale University.

² Of Whitehall, Mr Alfred G. Langley, the English translator of Leibniz, writes from Newport that the Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Rhode Island purchased in 1900 the long lease of the house and a half acre of land at Whitehall, and will hereafter maintain the place as a memorial of Berkeley.

Newport, the yearly rents and profits from which were to be spent for the maintenance of three bachelors¹ to be chosen for their excellence in Greek and Latin. In the next year (1733) he also sent collections² of books both to Yale and Harvard. King's College³ in New York, too, was a little later founded largely on the model which he advised in a letter to his friend Samuel Johnson its first President. The College of Philadelphia⁴ followed also his wise counsel in its early organization. Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, where the President sits at the annual commencement in a chair that once belonged to Berkeley, and the Berkeley Divinity School in Middletown, Connecticut, which bears his name⁵, still keep him in loyal remembrance. In all the great institutions of learning, which have been founded in the various states, as settlement has pressed westward across the continent, the philosophy of Berkeley has been expounded. At the farthest limit of the west, on the shores of the Pacific, overlooking the golden gate, there has been bestowed upon a university town the name of Berkeley 'in remembrance of one of the very best of the early friends of college education in America,' and in it the State of California has erected its university, alike as a monument to the learning and vision of the English

¹ These Berkeleian scholars continue still to be appointed at Yale University from the income of the rentals of Whitehall.

² The collection of about 1000 volumes given to Yale is still in existence, but that given to Harvard was mostly, if not entirely, destroyed by fire in 1764.

³ Columbia University.

⁴ University of Pennsylvania.

⁵ Berkeley School in Bermuda and Cloyne School in Newport were likewise named for Bishop Berkeley. Secondary schools in New York, Providence, and also other cities bear his name. There is a Berkeley Memorial Chapel in Middletown, not far from Whitehall, where Berkeley resided. A handsome Berkeley memorial window, too, has been placed in the chapel at Yale University.

Of places, the ledge under the Hanging Rocks at Newport which Berkeley describes in his 'Alciphron' is still known as the Bishop's seat. Berkeley Street, in the old academic town of Cambridge, was named for the philosopher by Richard Henry Dana, 2d, a student of his works. Berkley in Massachusetts and Berkeley in California both witness in their naming his influence in America.

philosopher and as an evidence of a yearning for the fulfilment of his prophecy:

‘Westward the course of Empire takes its way,
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
The world’s great effort is the last.’

Percival in the years of Berkeley’s unselfish enterprise in America, had also entered upon a career of philanthropic endeavour in connection with the new world. At the general election in August, 1727, he had been returned to the British House of Commons for the borough of Harwich. On the 25th of February, 1729, he was appointed by the Commons on the select committee, of which James Edward Oglethorpe (1696—1785) was chairman, to inquire into the state of the gaols. Berkeley, when in Rhode Island, congratulates (30th August, 1729) him on his share in redressing the villanies of Fleet Prison, and for being ‘recorded as a principal agent in that most laudable piece of justice and charity.’ The knowledge of pauperism and of the necessity of seeking an economic remedy, which Oglethorpe and Percival gained through that investigation, led them into the great work of their lives. Oglethorpe, as Percival says, ‘gave the first hint of the project’ in 1729, but the latter was his chief supporter throughout the undertaking. Their project was to found a settlement in the colony of Georgia, a region lying between the rivers Savannah and Altamaha in America, for the purpose of providing an asylum for insolvent debtors and for persons fleeing from religious persecution. The motives of charity and humanity which prompted the scheme, the character of the colonists to be selected, and the method of allotment of land among them, are set forth at some length by Oglethorpe in a letter of May, 1731, addressed to Berkeley before he left Newport. Not long after Berkeley’s return we find (12th Jan. 1732) the Dean and Oglethorpe at Percival’s home discussing

with him from dinner to ten o'clock the Carolina project. Percival sought to know of Berkeley, if having abandoned the Bermuda project, he would be willing to turn over some part of the subscriptions obtained for it, to the Carolina settlement, but the Dean, however, preferred, as we have seen, that they should go to the support of the college in Connecticut. A royal charter dated the 9th of June, 1732, having been obtained for establishing the Georgia colony, Percival was appointed the first president of its trustees. On the 30th of October, 1732, Oglethorpe embarked at Deptford with one hundred and twenty settlers. As Oglethorpe fostered the life of the infant colony in Georgia, so Percival became the chief patron and guardian of the plantation in England. The early history of Georgia is thus largely the narrative of their united efforts. For eleven years Percival kept in his 'Journal' a record of the transactions of its trustees, and the 'Georgia affairs' remained his constant concern until he was compelled to resign from the board on account of ill health. 'Owing to his zeal,' as stated in the preamble of his patent, 'in promoting the interest of his country, both in the old and in the new world,' Percival was still farther advanced in the peerage of Ireland by being created in 1733 the first Earl of Egmout. 'My wife and I,' he writes in his 'Journal' on the 15th of August, 'went to Hampton Court, where I kissed the hands of the King, Queen, and Prince, for being made Earl by the title of Egmout, in the county of Cork.'

Soon after Berkeley returned to London* the fruits of his literary labor in America were given to the world by the publication of his 'Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher.' A copy of this work was sent (19th Feb. 1732) to Percival, who surmised from its Socratic style that it was written by Berkeley, although he had not been told by its author that any such work was about to appear. The treatise met with immediate success, reaching a second edition within a year, and

appearing in French in 1734. As in the 'Hylas and Philonous' Berkeley here employs the Platonic dialogue, in the successful use of which he has not been surpassed in English literature. Graphic descriptions of Rhode Island scenery likewise afforded a delightful setting for this dramatic procedure. In seven dialogues he sought to apply his new principles to a criticism of the 'minute philosophy' of the age in vindication of religion. Freethinking, as he had written *Percival* (2nd March, 1731), appeared to be the chief source of opposition to his proposed college, and also the cause of most of the other evils of the age. While it spread he thought it vain to hope for any good, either to the mother country or the colonies. In his second dialogue *Mandeville* is represented by *Lysicles*, and in the third dialogue *Shaftesbury's* ethical theory is discussed. *Collins* as well as other freethinkers are kept in mind throughout. Although marred by the fact that Berkeley failed to grasp the essential position of *Shaftesbury's* system in regard to the relation of morality and religion¹, the work as a whole was a brilliant attempt to stem the prevailing tide of unbelief of the period. Atheism is here confronted with the evidence of an omnipresent intelligence. Nature is portrayed as a visible language, in which divine power and goodness are continually manifested. The living soul of the universe is God.

Berkeley resided at Green Street, in London, from 1732 to 1734. During this time he was a frequent

¹ The Hon. A. J. Balfour similarly mars an otherwise finely written account of 'Berkeley's Life and Writing' by a bitter polemic against *Shaftesbury*, in which he deals more largely with superficial details than with the real aim and essential thought of the philosopher. One who is so much irritated by the efforts affirmed of *Shaftesbury* to figure as 'a fine gentleman' is still far from being acquainted with the noble character of the man. If *Shaftesbury's* creed were as stated 'a shallow optimism,' what is to be said of Berkeley's altruism in the '*Alciphron*.' A philosopher, too, like *Shaftesbury*, who sought to replace an ethics based on the sordid motives of rewards and punishments, so current in the theology of his time, by a true piety founded in a love of God for his own sake, can hardly be included with those in any period who have done 'small service to morality.'

visitor at the home of Percival. Another guest at dinner with him there was the well known Pierre François de Courayer (1695—1776), who had written works in defence of Anglican orders and was obliged to fly from France and take refuge in England. At Percival's concerts he still met the men who were prominent in social and political life. Of his own literary friends of former days, however, few now remained, and consequently London's intellectual life was far less brilliant and attractive. Queen Caroline continued to hold her receptions, and on its appearance 'Alciphron' was 'the discourse of the court.' The intimate relations between Berkeley and the family of Percival at this time are seen in the selection of the Dean to perform the marriage ceremony of Katherine Percival to Mr Hanmer, which occurred (14th April, 1733) at Spring Garden Chapel.

While Berkeley was living in London, the Deanery of Down, worth £200 a year more than that of Derry, became vacant, and Percival made efforts to secure it for him. Berkeley wanted it in order to repair his depleted fortune, and to have as a mark of His Majesty's favour in going into Ireland. Owing largely to the unfriendly representations made by Archbishop Hoadly of Dublin to the Duke of Dorset, the Lord Lieutenant, concerning Berkeley, the appointment fell to Richard Daniel, of whom Percival appears to have had a very poor opinion. When Percival soon after met the Bishop of Salisbury, brother of the Archbishop, at King's Chapel, we find him taking occasion during the lessons to remark to the Bishop upon the wretched usage of 'one of the worthiest, most learned, and most unexceptionable men in the three kingdoms.' Edmund Gibson (1669—1748), the Bishop of London, and one of the most learned of contemporary divines at this period (15th March, 1732) first suggests to Percival that Berkeley might be made a Bishop of Ireland, if he were to proceed hither. Percival, however, desired absolute assurance of it before the Dean should go

over. During the year 1733 Berkeley had the pleasure of congratulating Percival on the honour of becoming Earl of Egmont. On the 17th of January, 1734, the new Earl was able to reciprocate with felicitations, inasmuch as the Dean acquainted him that he had that morning kissed the King's and Queen's hands for the Bishopric of Cloyne.

After an absence of twenty years (1713—1733) from Ireland, save for short visits, Berkeley now returned to take up a continued residence of eighteen years (1734—1752) in his diocese of Cloyne. Here, amid attractive surroundings, he led a quiet, meditative life, devoting his energies to his official duties and to the welfare of the Irish people. During this period few traces of correspondence between Berkeley and Percival remain, but the references in Percival's 'Journal' assure us of their continued friendship. In these comparatively uneventful years Berkeley twice attracted public attention in the realm of authorship. Impressed by the sad social condition of Ireland, his thoughts of relief for the country were presented in a series of discriminating questions, entitled 'The Querist.' The first number of it appeared in 1735; the second, through the agency of Percival, in 1736; and the third in 1737. In his queries he sought chiefly to enforce lessons of self-reliance as the fundamental remedy for the economic ills of the Irish people. Although lacking in systematic development 'The Querist' contained much sound wisdom. Berkeley's other publication, which was given to the world in the spring of 1744, was entitled 'A chain of philosophical reflexions and enquiries concerning the virtues of tar-water, and divers other subjects connected together and arising from one another.' In the second edition, which appeared in the same year, the work was called 'Siris,' etc. It was a period of much disease in Ireland and Berkeley believed that in tar-water an efficacious remedy had been found, having doubtless observed the healing properties of tar as used among the

American Indians. Three editions of 'Siris' appeared in 1744, and there were others in 1746 and 1748. Translations of the work were made within a few years into German, French, Low Dutch and Portuguese. The use of tar-water as a panacea for the various physical ills to which flesh is heir had spread all over Europe. The work, however, was much more than a purely medical propaganda. Tar-water as a universal restorative suggested to Berkeley the immediate dependence of all in nature upon an omnipresent mind. The treatise thus presented a return to the idealism alike of Plato and of Plotinus. It was mystical in tone and full of moral elevation. His own original idealism found here its mature and final expression. The treatise proved to be the last words of Berkeley in philosophy.

Throughout these years spent by Berkeley at Cloyne there was the same charm of domestic life, which pervaded his home at Whitehall. To the home education of his three sons, Henry born in Newport, William in London, and George in Cloyne, he gave much attention, since he desired not to trust them to 'mercenary hands.' Paternal tenderness was a conspicuous trait in Berkeley's character. Of his daughter Julia, born in October, 1738, he writes to Johnson, 'But such a daughter, so bright, a little gem.' The death of his favourite son William in 1751 was thought 'to have struck close to his father's heart.' He writes thus of it: 'I was a man relieved from the amusement of politics, visits, and what the world calls pleasure. I had a little friend educated always under my own eye, whose painting delighted me, whose music ravished me, and whose lovely gay spirit was a continual feast. It has pleased God to take him hence.' A year later (1752) Berkeley ends his sojourn at Cloyne.

The last reference by the Earl of Egmont in his 'Journal' to the Bishop of Cloyne was made on the 28th of December, 1746, when he mentions having received the mortgage of the lands which Berkeley

had held in security for a loan made to him in 1733 of £3000 Irish money. On the 1st of May, 1748, the Earl died in London and was buried at Erwarton in Suffolk. The independence of the man in political life is evident in his refusal as he relates at any time to see the King's speech before it was read in parliament, since to vote against anything that happened to be recommended in it would be disapproved 'after having appeared among a number of gentlemen who were resolved to approve all.' His interest in public affairs was best shown by his activity in the colonisation of Georgia. For many years he spared neither time nor effort to advance the interests of this colony, and published several treatises in behalf of its settlement. If he had so desired he might have had still greater preferment, as three times, it is said, he refused the offer of an English peerage. At a time when it was difficult to do so in exalted stations he preserved inviolate high principles of honour and independence.

Bishop Berkeley outlived the Earl of Egmont only a few years. As early as 1746 he wrote to his lifelong friend Thomas Prior that he was bent on retiring to Oxford, anticipating thereby more enjoyment than could be afforded by any high station. He petitioned the King that he might be allowed to resign his see. The King replied, that he might live where he pleased, but he should die a bishop. This dream of academic retirement, doubtless occasioned by Berkeley's early visit to the English university city, he did not find possible of fulfilment until August, 1752. In that month he looked on Cloyne for the last time, and carried much of the way in a litter, owing to weakness, journeyed to Oxford. Here settled in a pleasant home, and with at first improved health he was able in October to reprint under the title of 'Miscellany' several of his tracts. But this ideal life, which he had so long desired, was of short duration. On the 14th of January, 1753, surrounded by his family and listening

to the reading by his wife of St Paul's sublime discourse on the resurrection from the fifteenth chapter of first Corinthians, without previous warning and without pain, Berkeley passed away. Thus departed from the world a man of unrivalled charm of personality, one of the most admirable writers in the history of English literature, and likewise one of the most distinguished of all English philosophers.



Sir John Percival

THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
GEORGE BERKELEY
AND
SIR JOHN PERCIVAL

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF BERKELEY AND PERCIVAL

Berkeley¹ to Percival.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, 22nd Sept. 1709.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry to hear from Dan Dering² that you have lost your statues, medals, &c. that you had coming from Italy; though on second thoughts I almost doubt whether it may be reckoned a loss. Nobody purchases a cabinet of rarities³ to please himself with the continued light of them, nothing in it being of any farther use to the owner than as it entertains his friends; but I question if your neighbours in the county of Cork would relish that sort of entertainment. To feed their eyes with the sight of rusty medals and antique statues would (if I mistake not) seem to them something odd and insipid. The finest collection is not worth a groat where there is no one to admire and set a value on it, and our country seems to me the place in the world which is least furnished with virtuosi.

¹ Mr George Berkeley, now Bishop of Cloyne, 1736. P. [Marginal note in Percival's 'Letter-book.']

² Dan Dering, son to Col. Daniel Dering, my brothers's brother, and to my aunt Helena Dering, my father's sister. King George made him commissioner of the wine license at his coming to the crown, and in 1719 he married Mrs Mary Parker, my wife's sister, by whom he left an only daughter Catherine to my care. He died. And item of the Prince of Wales, of the stone, 13th Sept. 1730, and was followed by his wife the Jan'y after. P.

³ My collection list which I made when abroad. P.

I have Sir, all the engagements in the world to think myself concerned in anything that in my apprehension may promote your interest. This it is that makes me pretend to advise you, how ill soever that office may become me. There is a person whose acquaintance and conversation I do earnestly recommend unto you as a thing of the greatest advantage : you will be surprised when I tell you it is yourself. Believe me, I am convinced there is nothing else wanting to complete your happiness, so much as a little more satisfaction in your own company, which might provoke you to spend regularly and constantly two or three hours of the morning in study and retirement. I do not take upon me to prescribe what you shall employ yourself about. I only propose the passing two or three hours of the twenty-four in private ; and as for the subject of your reading or meditation I leave that to your own judgment. I have observed in you that you seem to prefer the improving ones self by conversation before private study. This proceeds either from an over modest opinion of your own parts (which fault I know is very incident to you) or else from a belief that the latter is not so profitable and pleasant as is pretended. For my part I am of a different opinion ; and if you will shew that regard for my judgment as to follow it in these two points, you will both do me a great honour and lay a new obligation on me, the most acceptable of all other.

I would not be thought to question your inclination for reading. Whoever has the happiness of any degree of your acquaintance cannot but know you are conversant in books far above the ordinary rate of gentlemen of your rank, but this is what I am earnest with you for, viz. a fixt and settled method of study. And I press it the more earnestly at this time, because if you do not enter upon it before you marry it will be less practicable afterwards. Then to begin a habit of rising early and retirement may be ill interpreted by

your lady, whereas if she knows you were used to it before, she can take no umbrage at it. Some there be who think the least reflection unbecoming men of business and action in the world. This notion may if I mistake not be easily impugned by a great number both of reasons and examples which I shall omit at this time. If you have any tincture of that notion, viz. the inconsistency of study with business, I shall take it as a favour if you will be pleased to communicate to me in a line or two your sentiments on that point, with your reasons for them. In the meanwhile I must desire you to pardon the long trouble I have given you in this letter, and am

Sir,

Y^r most hum^{le} & affect^d Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 6th Oct. 1709.

DEAR SIR,

I would have acknowledged your kind letter sooner, but for a cold and tooth ache, which keeps me still to my chamber. It was kind in several respects, but chiefly for reminding me how precious time is, and for furnishing me with an excuse for early rising against the time I marry. It is no improper caution to a young man bedded for a constancy to a pretty woman, as she shall be who I wed, or my eyes shall cheat me. Marriage is a voluntary confinement which I desire to make as agreeable as possible, the rather because 'tis a confinement for life. I therefore would have my roof well pitched and very clean, not one that had been lain in before, but fresh, new, and fashionable, otherwise the world would say I chose my

lodging for cheapness or wanted judgment. So much for the walls. As for the furniture I cannot so well tell what I would have as what I would not, it being easier to say what displeases, than what one likes, besides we are more constant in our aversions than our pleasures. I would have no Latin sentences embroidered on my hanging like the narrow closets of great ladies who affect to be esteemed learned, neither should I like it to be of a changeable colour, for fear sometimes I should not know my room, nor should I desire it finely flowered, or wrought with smart repar-tees, but plain, even, and of one colour. I would have no pictures that should ruffle my mind with the ideas of storms and tempests, thunder or showers of rain, nor any representation of battles, civil wars, or domestic strifes, no Socrates and his wife, no Hooker turning the spit while his wife corrects him with her ladle, nor anything suggesting resistance to the higher powers ; but Portia swallowing live coals on Brutus's flight, Cetus and Arie, Sibylla wife of Robert Duke of Normandy, and such instances of conjugal affection. Nudities I banish for the story you told me of Lesley. In short, I must not have a thought of lewdness, foppery, affectation, or anything defective in my furniture, which so abounds in almost all the rooms I see. And so I leave this subject, only I must return to the walls and tell you they shall not be plastered and painted as is everywhere the fashion in France, and begins to be so in England, nor must (but here all allegory fails me) my wife be red haired. When I have found a room to my mind, you may expect to hear I keep much at home.

As to the employment of my time, I am resolved not to be altogether idle, but as well as I can inform myself of our Constitution, no study being so proper for a gentleman to know as the measure of his obedience, and the length of their power who rule, which subject of government leads me to acquaint you, that very lately there is published a small octavo

by one Higden, a non-juror, but now convinced of his error. It has the reputation of being well put together, and to have wrought good effects on many of that party. The argument is, that oaths ought to be taken to kings *de facto* as readily as if they reigned *de jure*, which he proves not only from reason, but shews it to be the spirit of our Constitution from common and statute law, the rolls of parliament, and the opinions of many eminent judges. Lastly he proves this doctrine to be consistent with the opinion of our Church, with Scripture and the practice of the Jews, and ancient Christians. If this book has fallen in your way, you will oblige me with your sentiments of it. The title is "A View of the English Constitution" &c.

I am

Yr affect & hum^{ble} Serv^t,

J. PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, 21st Oct. 1709.

DEAR SIR,

I return you my hearty thanks for the favour you did me, in putting me on the perusal of a book, which is (I¹ think) written with great solidity, and which I had not seen before. Mr Higden has in my mind clearly shewn that the swearing allegiance to the king *de facto* (whether right or wrong) is conformable as well to the laws of the land as to Scripture and reason, and the practice of nations. That it is agreeable to reason is so evident from the very nature and

¹ Mr Geo. Berkeley now Bishop of Cloyne, 1736, and his opinion of Mr Higden's view of the Constitution. P.

design of government, as one may justly wonder it was ever made a question, and particularly what Mr Higden relates to have passed in Henry the Seventh's reign, viz. the acknowledging the laws passed by Richard the Third, the methods used in reversing his acts of attainder, and the statute made for the future security of all that should adhere to the king *de facto*, which he shews not to have been repeated since ; all this I say demonstrates it to suit with our Constitution. Besides what he says of ancient custom, viz. that during the reigns of thirteen kings who came to the throne without hereditary titles, he does not know of any non-jurors, makes it seem surprising that those men should start up in our days. The reason I take to be that men having felt not long before the great mischief there was in forsaking the king, they now (as is usual to go from one extreme to another) thought they could not adhere too closely to his person, even when he was divested of all government, and utterly unable to protect them. For my part, when I consider what the difference is between a king *de jure* and a king *de facto* I cannot easily find it. As for the right of inheritance, to me it seems a kingdom is not a property, but a charge ; it is not therefore necessary that it go by the same rule as an estate or goods and chattels. But grant it be the property of a single person, and that the crown of right descend by inheritance, yet sure it is that no person who inherits can have by inheritance a better title to the thing inherited, than he had to whom he succeeds as heir. Now do but trace the present Royal line and you will end in William the Conquerour, who by conquest had the same title to the crown that a highwayman has to your purse. So that after all, we are forced to place the right of kings in the consent and acquiescence of the people : whence it follows, that whoever has the crown in possession, and the people or their representatives, i.e. Lords and Commons concurring with him, the same is rightful king. If therefore

Cromwell had taken the title of king, and got it confirmed to his posterity in a free Parliament, and they remained in possession of it, and the laws ran in their usual channel down to this time, it should seem to be wickedness in anyone to attempt to disturb the public peace, by introducing the family of the Stewarts. Because you desire my sentiments I speak freely what comes uppermost in my thoughts.

But to return to our author, two things there are that I scruple in his book : the first, is his retaining the distinction of kings *de jure* and kings *de facto* without giving any mark whereby we shall know the one from the other. I would ask him for example, how upon his principles it is possible to distinguish between the posterity of the usurper Cromwell (in case they had obtained and continued on the throne) and the posterity of the Conquerour, which is but a more specious name for an usurper. In the two first chapters he proves the legislative authority of the king for the time being and his two Houses of Parliament, to be acknowledged both by the common and statute law ; and at the latter end of the sixth chapter he expressly says the right of the crown is under the direction of the legislative authority, i.e. of the king *de facto* and his Parliament. Whence it plainly follows that every king *de facto* is king *de jure*, and so the distinction becomes useless. The second thing I cannot approve of in Mr Higden is, that he seems to be against all resistance whatsoever to the king *de facto* as is evident from chapter seven. Now by this it appears his principles do not favour the late Revolution, though indeed he is now for submission to the government established.

By this time I may reasonably suppose you are well nigh tired. I must nevertheless ask leave to add that nothing in my mind can be more becoming a gentleman and man of sense, than the resolution you are taking to know the measure of your obedience, and the bounds of their power who rule. As to the

latter, I believe you may find some satisfaction in the last part of Mr Locke's 'Treatise on Government,' if you have not yet perused that piece. And with relation to the former, there is a dialogue of Plato's entitled 'Crito,' wherein it is debated how far we are bound to the observance of the laws of our country, of which I would gladly know your opinion. It contains only about five or six leaves in 8^o in the 2^d vol. of Plato's works translated into English from the French of Mr Dacier. I believe Mr Clerke¹ has the book.

You are undoubtedly wise in resolving to have a beautiful lady. I wish she may be healthy too, that so you may be the father of a hardy race, for ever free from colds and toothaches.

Dr Lambert² has lately published a defence of his letter. It has the character of being smooth and trifling. The same person is said to have offended Mr Tennison's friends, because in his funeral sermon he charged him with ignorance in being against the money bill.

I shall not add that the throwing away half an hour now and then on a correspondence with me is the greatest addition imaginable to the obligations you have already laid on.

Dear Sir,

Y^r most hum^{le} & affect. Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

[¹ Apparently an intimate friend of Percival.]

² Dr Ralf Lambert, afterwards Dean of Down, and afterwards made Bishop of Dromore, Ann. 1717. In 1727 made Bishop of Meath. He died in 1732. P.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 29th Novbr. 1709.

D^r S^r,

I was extremely entertained with reading that excellent discourse of Socrates before his death, which you recommended to me, and I agree readily with the Prefacer that in our days we should hardly find an instance of the like kind, and yet I remember to have read of some of the regicides that judged King Charles to death though they well foresaw what was coming upon them, and had fair opportunity to escape, refused to stir, reputing it no less than a desertion of God and their country, to refuse laying down their lives in justification of the good old cause. But this was the force of enthusiasm which ever works strongest in the weakest minds, and when judgment is wanting hurries men often on to mistake vice for virtue and overact themselves. He is truly praiseworthy who can submit to evils after a wise and sober examination, when the passions are calm and undisturbed, as he is bravest that will resent an injury in cold blood. This Socrates did, and though it was common in those ages and in the beginning of Christianity for men to suffer for their opinions, yet there is something particular in his case which I think entitles him more to our admiration than any other. In most instances that history gives us of this sort of magnanimity, we may observe ambition, vanity, despair, or such like failings to have been a great incitement to if not the foundation of the action. Empedocles would be thought a god, and threw himself into Etna, and Curtius leaped into the chasm, to have a year's enjoyment of the fairest women, which is no such strange thing for a heathen to do, when even Christians who are better convinced of a future state are seen to

make themselves away often because disappointed of a single woman. Then if you come down to the first Christians who suffered in such numbers, we shall less wonder at their resolution when we consider how near they lived to the Apostles, whose example being fresh, must have had great influence, besides the assurance they had of immortality, and being for the very sake of suffering promised happiness hereafter, but above all when God was so favourable to many of them as (if we may believe the writers) to permit they should feel no pain when under the most violent execution. You will own it was no difficult matter then to be a martyr. Lastly many have suffered for religion who would have changed to save their lives. We know that Cranmer recanted that he might not suffer, yet the law proceeded against him, so he was forced to death. When changing will do no good a man is a martyr in spite of his teeth, which surely is not very meritorious, though 'tis commendable to die in the faith we always professed.

But whoever considers the circumstances of Socrates as no doubt you have done, will find the greatest temptations before him to live that could be, and few inducements to the contrary. He will find that he consented to die merely for the good of others, even of those who wrongfully put him to death, so that he had a double aim in dying, the justifying truth, and preserving the laws of his country inviolable. A martyr dies for the good of his soul, Socrates of his soul and country too, and yet the greatest assurances his philosophy could give him of a future state were not comparable to the clear evidence revelation afterwards brought us, neither could Athens have been much hurt if so good a man had withdrawn himself from suffering under an unjust judgment; but Socrates adored truth and justice so much, that he would not give a pretence to any that were to come after for disobedience to the laws they once had owned, and in dying had no private aim, no vanity to satisfy, but

showed that the best use we can make of life is to part with it in defence of truth.

If you remember when in Dublin I discoursed you about Mr Whiston, who writ an explication of several Scripture prophecies. He is now in great danger of losing a small living (which is all he has to subsist a large family with) for declaring publicly and in print that adoration or prayer is not due to God the Son, nor Holy Ghost. He owns that the Scriptures apply the divinity to them, but he says 'tis none of our business to draw consequences, and afterward make prayers, where not peremptorily enjoined, and example in Scripture is wanting. But really I think he is mistaken very much ; for in my reading the New Testament, I thought nothing plainer than that our Saviour was prayed to, and he without whom nothing was made that was made, he that is in the Father and the Father in him, he that when you see him you see the Father too, he that declared I and the Father are one, he that could forgive sins, in short he that hath these powers and attributes given him in Scripture has a title to our prayers and adoration. Mr Whiston therefore is absent always upon Litany days which he leaves to his curate, and some other passages he leaves out in our common prayer, for which he is threatened very hard ; but he despises the worst they can do him, and says they cannot hurt him, though they may the body ; thus he speaks like a philosopher, but like an enthusiast too. When they tell him his wife and children will starve he is not moved at all, but says God will help them. He is very positive and warm ; I do not know whether he is within the act N^o & M that makes it punishable to deny the godhead of our Saviour, for as I told you before he owns whatever the text says of him, but either explains it differently or rejects the consequences we draw.

I have tired you and will therefore conclude, &c.,

PERCIVAL.

*Berkeley to Percival.*TRINITY COLL., Dec. 27th, 1709.

I was glad to find the small piece I recommended to your perusal entertained you so well. I did indeed believe that anything of that excellent philosopher¹, whose divine sentiments are preserved to us by Plato and Xenophon, could not fail of being agreeable to a man of sense and virtue. Your reflections on Socrates' behaviour gave me a great deal of pleasure, though not without some concern, in making me more sensible of the loss I sustain in being deprived of the conversation of one who has a taste of those things which (though formerly the chiefest heads of discourse among the politer heathen) are now almost grown out of fashion, and banished the conversation of well bred Christians. Socrates spent his time in reasoning on the most noble and important subjects, the nature of the gods, the dignity and duration of the soul, and the duties of a rational creature. He was always exposing the vanity of Sophists, painting vice and virtue in their proper colours, deliberating on the public good, enflaming the most noble and ungenerous tempers with the love of great actions. In short his whole employment was the turning men aside from vice, impertinence, and trifling speculations to the study of solid wisdom, temperance, justice, and piety, which is the true business of a philosopher. And this great man died as he lived; he went out of the world with the same indifference that a man rises from an ill play. He spent his last minutes in his usual exercise. In the morning of the last day of his life, you know he made that excellent discourse concerning the obligation that men have to obey the laws of their country, and Plato's dialogue entitled 'Phaedon' contains an account of

¹ Dr Geo. Berkeley to me. Reflections on Socrates. P.

his discourse and behaviour during the rest of the day wherein he drank the poison prepared him by the executioner. It is now some years since I read this dialogue, but I remember it entertained me very agreeably, as I believe it will you if you can find leisure to peruse it. It is in the same volume with 'Crito,' and it would be a great favour to let me know your opinion of it. I must own it looks something impertinent to be still troubling you with one amusement or other; but when I call to mind how unmercifully you suffered me to devour your time when here, I flatter myself that I have a sort of right to the disposal of some few of your minutes even at this distance. But here is a particular reason why I could wish you would give yourself the trouble of looking over the 'Phaedon'; for (besides that you will there find the thoughts of the wisest heathen on that subject which the most deserves our consideration, I mean the immortality of the soul) Socrates does therein explain his opinion of self-murder, which is a point I remember to have heard you discourse on more than once, and you appeared something fond of discussing it. But if you need any motive to peruse a discourse of Socrates, I know none more apposite than the authority of Squire Bickerstaff, a man I think of excellent sense and whom you may have observed on all occasions to express a very high esteem of that philosopher. For my own part, so far as I can judge by what notions of his I have seen, I cannot forbear thinking him the best and most admirable man that the heathen world produced.

It was with great concern I read that part of your letter which relates to Mr Whiston. He has been (as appears by his writings) a man of great industry and parts; but I must own myself very much surprised to find him espouse such an odd paradox, as adoration and prayer are not due to the Son and Holy Ghost, though he acknowledges their divinity. You tell me he says 'tis none of our business to draw consequences

from Scripture, whereas in my opinion several parts of Scripture would be of little or no use, if we were not allowed to apply them and draw consequences from them. Whatever has an evident connexion with any part of revelation seems to me equally binding with it, otherwise all use of reason in points of the Christian religion must be quite laid aside. I agree with you entirely that we have express warrant in Scripture for praying to our Saviour; and if we had not, yet it is so clearly deducible from thence as sufficiently justifies the conduct of our Church in that point. This notion of Mr Whiston's is, I believe, of a new sort, for the Socinians allow our Saviour may be prayed to, though according to them he is not God. But though I look on this thought of Mr Whiston's as an error in point of judgment, yet I must confess the account you gave me of it, noways lessened but rather increased my opinion of the man; inasmuch as it is easier to find those who conform in the externals of worship and agree to the tenets of our Church, than to meet with one that has attained in so eminent a degree, that great perfection and badge of Christianity, the generous contempt of the things of this life, which as it is the most severe and least practised duty of our religion, so it is the surest mark of a true Christian, being the very root of all the heroical virtues recommended in the gospel.

The large family of Mr Whiston which you mention (for before I did not know he was married) are indeed to be pitied, but as for Mr Whiston himself I do not think him any object of pity on account of the temporal misfortunes he is threatened with. There is a secret pleasure in suffering for conscience sake, which I doubt not is sufficient to overbalance whatever calamities may be inflicted on him on that score.

This obscure corner of the world furnishes no occurrences worth your notice. All things are in a dull state of mediocrity. Only the other day there came out a pamphlet in answer to Mr Stoughton's

sermon. It was written by a young clergyman of my acquaintance that was formerly a member of our college. The thing seems to me to have some sense and pleasantry in it. You have here enclosed part of it and the remaining part I defer sending till next post.

I am,

D^r S^r,

Y^r affect^t humble Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRIN. COLL., *March 1st*, 1709/10.

D^r S^r,

I take this opportunity of Mr Molyneux's departure to give you the trouble of a letter, though I must own this corner furnishes scarce any that deserves to be communicated. We are a nation as it were in its nonage, put under the guardianship of a people who do everything for us, and leave us the liberty of transacting nothing material ourselves or having any part in the affairs of Europe, yet for all that we are not free from faction and discord any more than our neighbours. The feast at the Tholsel¹ on the Queen's Birthday has occasioned much talk in this city and given offence to many on account of certain w[h]iggish healths which was there proposed, one whereof I am informed was the bringing in of Presbytery, and another that Dr Sachervell and his friends may meet with Greg's fate. The said D^r is entirely the subject of discourse, and everyone is

¹ [A city hall and exchange with banquet room.]

engaged either for or against him. His sermon has been printed here, as well as some pamphlets of our own growth against it. I send you one which is thought to come from Mr Daniel a famous whigg-clergyman and pretender to poetry in this town. I would not have you think by my sending it that I set any great value on it, for it seems to me writ with an affectation of more wit than in truth it has. The controversy occasioned by Mr Boyle's sermon against episcopacy is not yet ended. I hear he has a large volume of above three-score sheets ready for the press. Archdeacon Percival's¹ answer to Dr Lambert is likewise suddenly expected. I know not whether my last came to your hands, it was directed under cover to Mr Southwell and enclosed a piece of controversy with Mr Stoughton on the subject of his sermon. Sir Richard Bulkeley and one Whitterow an imposter whom he brought over along with him are lately gone from hence. They distributed a great deal of money and victuals to the poor while they were here, and set a stranger free who had been arrested for forty pounds which sum they paid. In short Sir Richard was resolved to sell his estate and give all to the poor. But I am told the Chancery opposed him as *non compos*. Whitterow is said to have run away with a young woman. Some clergymen would fain have discoursed him on his mission but he carefully avoided it.

The bookseller who printed the 'Essay on Vision,' imagining he had printed too few, retarded the publication of it on that side the water till he had finished this second edition whereof be pleased to accept one which I have sent you by Mr Molyneux. I have made some alterations and additions in the body of the Treatise, and in an appendix have endeavoured to answer the objections of the Archbishop of Dublin. There still remains one objection with regard to the uselessness of that book : but in a little time I hope

¹ Cousin Wm. Percival, an archdeacon, son of George Percival, my great uncle. P.

to make what is there laid down appear subservient to the ends of morality and religion in a treatise I have now in the press, the design of which is to demonstrate the existence and attributes of God, the immortality of the soul, the reconciliation of God's foreknowledge with freedom of men, and by shewing the emptiness and falseness of several parts of the speculative sciences, to reduce men to the study of religion and things useful. How far my endeavour will prove successful, and whether I have been all this time in a dream or no, time will manifest.

Pray if Mr Clarke be alive give my humble service to him. I am in pain for him having not heard from him this long time. I met with some who supporting themselves on the authority of the Archbishop of Dublin's¹ sermon concerning the prescience of God, denied there was any more wisdom, goodness or understanding in God than there were feet or hands, but that all are to be taken in a figurative sense; whereupon I consulted the sermon and to my surprise found his Grace asserting that strange doctrine. 'Tis true he holds there is something in the divine nature analogous or equivalent to those attributes. But upon such principles I must confess I do not see how it is possible to demonstrate the being of God: there being no argument that I know of for his existence, which does not prove him at the same time to be an understanding, wise and benevolent Being, in the strict, literal, and proper meaning of those words. About the same time I wrote to Mr Clarke² and desired he would favour me with his thoughts on the subject of God's existence, and the proofs he thought most conclusive of it, which I imagined would prove a grateful entertainment while his sore eyes prevented his reading. But never since have I heard one word from him, either on that or any other subject. I am often inquired of about his character, and I would fain

¹ [William King (1650—1729), the author of *De origine mali*, 1702.]

² [Samuel Clarke (Clerke), *supra*, pp. 8—10.]

add the love of letters and study to the rest of his good qualities.

All friends here are well. The other night Archdeacon Percival, Dan Dering and myself were drinking your and Dr Sachervell's healths at your brother's.

I am

Y^r mos^t obliged

humble Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

P.S.

This was to have gone by Mr Molyneux who, sometime since, was in full haste setting about his journey to the Congress, but now finding he is not likely to continue his resolution I chose rather to resume the letter out of his hands and send it by post than that you should escape the trouble of reading it, which trespass I depend upon your good nature to forgive. My Lady Roydon is just giving up the ghost, her goods are all seized and the bailiffs lodging in her house won't suffer her to die in peace.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 20th April, 1710.

D^r S^r,

I act the most inconsistently in the world in not answering your letters, for nothing gives me a greater pleasure than to hear from you, and yet I risk that happiness by my silence. I could wish you would think I have had a great deal of business on my hands that prevented me, but I won't categorically affirm it, for fear you should think it no more

than that tame and commonplace excuse. I find Dr Sacheverell has his partizans in Dublin as well as here, and see you are something altered from your former notion of the two parties, which indeed I did expect for I knew you such a lover of truth that you could not bear the wresting of men's words by inuendoes and forced constructions to different senses. We have people here that will not be convinced by any protestations the Dr could make that he was not designedly guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, and for my own part his reflecting on the ministry I think was as plain as the sun, which he does not deny in his speech. This was no doubt a crime that ought to be followed by some punishment, but as for the others laid to his charge indeed I am not able to discern them in his sermons.

It must needs grieve to the heart all good men who love their country and have nothing to get by changes at court to see the divisions now amongst us. For my share I look upon the differences between whig and tory to proceed only from a desire of the one ✓ to keep in and the other to get into employment. This their ambition, avarice, and personal pique being but ill inducement for to obtain followers, one party pretends we are in danger of anarchy or presbytery, and the other of tyranny and popery, all which is only to beguile the multitude and support their interests. I cannot think that the Whigs (on one hand) who are most of them of the Church of England and have good fortunes and know the excellency of our constitution can have in view the destruction of it, though they enforce their party by the junction of dissenters and commonwealth men; nor can I on the other hand believe that the Tories are not entirely satisfied with a limited monarchy and the succession as established by law, for the bulk of them are true professors of the Church of England, and very distant from popery, though Papists and Jacobites enrol under that name. The mighty feuds do therefore rise in my opinion from

desire of places, which begets personal hatred, and that slander and defamation, after which follows jealousy, distaste and fears, which being for matters of importance, namely the conservation of liberty, constitution, and the established religion, no wonder if well meaning men rank themselves on each side according as the different parties can make impression on them and so become zealous tools to the aims of the cunning few. But though I cannot believe either party desires the destruction of the constitution yet I do not pretend to say that an ill man will not in single instances, for the preservation of his place and bettering his fortune, sometimes venture to act too boldly and rashly, so as to give the opposite party (who will be sure to watch his behaviour) a pretence to cry out against him as if he intended certainly to overturn every thing, but this being the fault of a depraved mind, it may be common to both parties, in either of which it must be owned there are too many men of corrupt and wicked lives, and therefore we are not immediately to be in agonies for our constitution and think of shifting hands immediately, for worse men may come in their places. In this case therefore an honest man that has a share in the legislature ought to know the limits which belong to each part thereof, and never transgress them on any account. He ought to serve the king to his utmost as far as the interest of his country and the law of the land give leave, and act with either party as he finds them agree to his own opinions. For this reason he must be free from two passions, fear and avarice; from fear because he will be sure to be called a trimmer, and that by the art of party men is grown a scandalous name though naturally a commendable one; and from avarice because he must expect to get no thanks nor reward for preferring his duty and conscience to the service of those in power. 'Tis no argument against this that so few men will be found thus staunch, that instead of doing service to his country such a man incapacitates

himself from it by having no followers; for it is not natural that good should come of evil, and the tide of party carries men often into a whirlpool when once they lose their anchor, and then how miserable it is when good men who should at such times stand firm to rectify things are carried together with the rest into errors and evil actions.

I am

&c.,

PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRIN. COLL., *June 29th, 1710.*

Dr S^r,

Suffer me to interrupt your joys by a short congratulation. I am heartily glad to find you are married to a lady who, by all the accounts I can hear, is just such a one as (had it been at my choice) I should have chosen to be your wife. The first lines of your letter to your brother persuade me that I cannot make you a more agreeable wish than that you and my Lady Percival may spend together a long life in pleasure equal to that you have enjoyed this week past, that as the fury of love abates, the sweetness and tenderness of conjugal affection may increase, together with that unknown delight which springs up in the soul of a parent from the thought of a happy and well educated offspring.

This Sir is the hearty prayer of

Y^r most humble

and obliged Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

P.S.

How unmannerly soever it may be to give you any trouble at this time, yet my affairs so fall

out that I cannot possibly avoid it. I have sometime since published a book which is dedicated to my Lord Pembroke. It is necessary that one of them be forthwith presented to his Lordship, and I know not one that is capable of doing me that service but yourself. The book I have delivered to Mr Conderon who has promised me that it shall be left at your lodging in London by a gentleman who is going thither. By the next opportunity I will send you one for yourself; though I cannot flatter myself you will find time to read it. If I ask an absurd or unreasonable thing, I beg you will excuse one who has good intentions but not the best judge of decorum.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRIN. COLL., DUB., *July 29th*, 1710.

D^r S^r,

The readiness you express to serve me in my affair with the Lord Pembroke has drawn on you the second trouble, viz. that you will do me the favour to let me know if the book I sent to be presented to him, be not yet come to your hands. Mr Conderon gave it one Mr Hoar, a parliament man of this kingdom, about a month since, he then went for England and promised to take care of it. I have likewise directed one to be left at your lodging in Pall-Mall for yourself. It goes with some more of the same sort, which my bookseller sends to London. From the conversation I have had with you on that subject, I flatter myself you will not be adverse to the notions contained in it, and if when you receive it you can procure me the opinion of some of your ingenious acquaintances who are thinking men and addicted to the study of rational philosophy and mathematics, I shall be extremely obliged to you.

You could not have conferred a more sensible obligation on me, than was the favour you did in imparting what gave me some idea of the reasonable and sweet rapture you taste in your new state. I have often heard that men are apt to set the best outside on their condition of life, particularly in what relates to matrimony; but there appears such an unaffected air of truth and passion in what you say, that it will not suffer me to entertain the least doubt of your being in earnest. You must give me leave to tell you, you are mistaken in that part of your letter, where you insinuate it to be your thought that I lie under a prejudice (as I am a bachelour) against marriages; for whatever reasons I may have to think that state not eligible to one in my own present circumstances, humour, and manner of life; yet I assure you I cannot easily imagine a more happy condition than that of man and wife, who abide in mutual love and harmony of temper. As for what commonly shocks young men, the being confined only to one and that for life, I am so far from thinking the worse of matrimony on this account that on any other conditions I am convinced it could never be happy. The impossibility I have heard some men say there was in finding a woman accomplished in all those perfections that are necessary to making a happy husband (and which you have so well enumerated in your letter) is what gave me greatest prejudice against matrimony. However I still thought there was such a one somewhere to be found, and I sincerely rejoice with you that you have lit on her. Pray give my service to Mr Clerke.

I am,

Dr Sr,

Y^r most affect. and
most humble Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

*Percival to Berkeley.*LONDON, 26th Aug. 1710.Dr S^r,

Four days ago Col. Percival¹ who came from Ireland brought me your book concerning the 'Principles of Human Knowledge,' which he saw by accident on a bookseller's stall in Dublin made up and directed for me, and so brought it away, till when I had not seen it, for that you designed for my Lord Pembroke never came to my hands, however it won't come too late for he is yet in the country.

'Tis incredible what prejudices can work on the best geniuses, nay and even on the lovers of novelty, for I did but name the subject matter of your book to some ingenious friends of mine and they immediately treated it with ridicule, at the same time refusing to read it, which I have not yet got one to do, and indeed I have not yet been able to discourse myself on it because I had it so lately, neither when I set about it may I be able to understand it thoroughly for want of having studied philosophy more. A physician of my acquaintance undertook to describe your person, and argued you must needs be mad, and that you ought to take remedies. A Bishop pitied you that a desire and vanity of starting something new should put you on such an undertaking, and when I justified you in that part of your character, and added the other deserving qualities you have, he said he could not tell what to think of you. Another told me an ingenious man ought not to be discouraged from exercising his wit, and said Erasmus was not the worse thought of for writing in praise of folly, but that you are not gone so far as a gentleman in town who

¹ Cousin Charles Percival, governour of Denea. He was son of George, the brother of my grandfather, Sir John Percival. For his services he obtained a regiment and was killed in a duel by a French officer who expected the post. P.

asserts not only that there is no such thing as matter but that we have no being at all. My wife, who has all the good esteem and opinion of you that is possible from your just notions of marriage-happiness, desires to know if there be nothing but spirit and ideas, what you make of that part of the six days' creation which preceded man.

I have given you a plain account as I believe you would have me do what success the name of your book has had here, for I can hardly say they know any more of it, and shall endeavour to persuade people to read it, but by what they have already shewn can scarce believe they will do it impartially.

I am, S^r,

Y^r affect. friend & hum^{ble} Serv^t,

J. P.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRIN. COLL., Sep. 6th, 1710.

D^r S^r,

I am extremely obliged to you for the favourable representation you made of me and my opinions to your friends and the account you have given me of their judgments thereupon; and am not at all surprised to find that the name of my book should be entertained with ridicule and contempt by those who never examined what was in it, and want that common justice of trying before they condemn. But my comfort is that they who have entered deepest into the merits of the cause, and employed most time and exactness in reading what I have written, speak more advantageously of it. If the raillery and scorn of those that critique what they will not be at the pains

to understand had been sufficient to deter men from making any attempts towards curing the ignorance and errors of mankind, we should have been troubled with very few improvements in knowledge. The common cry being against any opinion seems to me so far from proving it false that it may with as good reason pass for an agreement of its truth. However I imagine whatever doctrine contradicts vulgar and settled opinion had need been introduced with great caution into the world. For this reason it was I omitted all mention of the non-existence of matter in the title-page, dedication, preface, and introduction, that so the notion might steal unawares on the reader, who possibly would never have meddled with a book that he had known contained such paradoxes. If, therefore, it shall at any time lie in your way to discourse with your friends on the subject of my book, I entreat you not to take notice to them I deny the being of matter in it, but only that it is a treatise of the 'Principles of Human Knowledge' designed to promote true knowledge and religion, particularly in opposition to those philosophers who vent dangerous notions with regard to the existence of God and the natural immortality of the soul, both which I have endeavoured to demonstrate in a way not hitherto made use of.

Two imputations there are which (how unjust soever) I apprehended would be charged on me by censorious men, and I find it has happened accordingly. The first, that I was not myself convinced of the truth of what I writ, but from a vain affectation of novelty designed imposing on the world:—whereas there is nothing I esteem more mean and miserable, I may add more wicked, than an intention to cheat men into a belief of lies and sophisms merely for the sake of a little reputation with fools. God is my witness that I was, and do still remain, entirely persuaded of the non-existence of matter, and the other tenets published along with it. How desirous soever

I may be to be thought well of, yet I hardly think that anyone in his wits can be touched with a vanity to distinguish himself among wise men for a mad man. This methinks should satisfy others of my sincerity at least, and that nothing less than a full conviction not only of the truth of my notions but also of their usefulness in the most important points, could have engaged me to make them public. I may add that the opinion of matter I have entertained some years ; if therefore a motive of vanity could have induced me to obtrude falsehoods on the world, I had long since done it when the conceit was warm in my imagination, and not have staid to examine and revise it both with my own judgment and that of my ingenious friends. The second imputation I was afraid of is, that men rash in their censures, and that never considered my book would be apt to confound me with the sceptics, who doubt of the existence of sensible things and are not positive as to any one truth, no not so much as their own being (which I find by your letter is the case of some wild visionists now in London), but whoever reads my book with due attention will plainly see that there is a direct opposition betwixt the principles contained in it and those of the sceptics, and that I question not the existence of anything that we perceive by our senses.

As to your Lady's objection, I am extremely honoured by it, and as I shall reckon it a great misfortune, in case any prejudice against my notions should lessen the good thoughts, you say, she is pleased to entertain of me, so I am not a little careful to satisfy her in point of the creation's consistency with the doctrine in my book. In order to which I must beg you will inform her Ladyship that I do not deny the existence of any of those sensible things which Moses says were created by God. They existed from all eternity in the Divine intellect, and then became perceptible (*i.e.* were created) in the same manner and order as is described in Genesis. For

I take creation to belong to things only as they respect finite spirits, there being nothing new to God. Hence it follows that the act of creation consists in God's willing that those things should be perceptible to other spirits, which before were known only to Himself. Now both reason and scripture assure us there are other spirits (as angels of different orders, &c.) besides man, who, 'tis possible might have perceived this visible world according as it was successively exhibited to their view before man's creation. Besides, for to agree with the Mosaic account of the creation it is sufficient if we suppose that a man, in case he was then created and existing at the time of the chaos, might have perceived all things formed out of it in the very order set down in Scripture, which is no ways repugnant to our principles. I know not whether I express myself so clearly as to be understood by a lady that has not read my book. Much more I might say to her objection, if I had the opportunity of discoursing with her, which I am sorry to hear we may not expect before next summer. I have a strong presumption that I should make a proselyte of her Ladyship, or she convince me that I am in error. My reason is, because she is the only person of those you mentioned my book to, who opposed it with reason and argument.

As for the physician I assure him there are (besides several others) two ingenious men of his own profession in this town, who are not ashamed to own themselves every whit as mad as myself, if their subscribing to the notions contained in my book can make them so. I may add that the greatest Tory and greatest Whig of my acquaintance agree in an entire assent to them, though at this time our party men seem more enflamed and stand at a wider distance than ever.

This puts me in mind to tell you a pleasant accident that befel me about ten days since. I was just come into the coffee-house when a drunken gentleman I had never seen before comes up to me and asks me

whether I would pledge him in Dr Sacheverell's health; to be brief he obliged me whether I would or no to drink the Dr's health in a glass of brandy in the middle of the coffee-house and when I had done he fell on his knees and swore and prayed for the Dr and the Church. Then getting up he swore that all the coffee-house round should drink the same health, and upon a gentleman's refusing it drew his sword, whereupon I made what haste I could out of the house. I understood afterwards that one or two more were obliged to drink it, the one of whom was a Parliament man. This occasioned Mr Caulfield to complain of it as a breach of privilege next day in Parliament; but all the effect his complaint had was that it set the whole house a laughing. I am told this involuntary act of mine is like to gain me the reputation of being a great admirer of Dr Sacheverell's, which is a character I am not at all fond of. I like indeed very well the events which his preaching may have brought about; for (if I may judge of such things) it seems to me the Government had been much too long in the hands of a party. But for the sermons or conduct of the Dr, I confess I have a very moderate esteem of either.

The book for my Lord Pembroke is delivered to Mr Hoffman, Mr Southwell's gentleman, who will give it you as soon as he comes to London.

I am,

Yr most humble

and affect. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*TRIN. COLL. 8^{ber}, 1710.D^r S^r,

I find by the last you favoured me with, that there is talk of my Lord Pembroke's being employed in the new ministry. I know not whether upon the delivery of the book you will think it proper to intimate to his Lordship that it was printed off (as indeed it was) the beginning of May, but that I wanted opportunity to present it sooner; by this it will appear that I meant to address him in his retirement, and not upon any prospect of his returning into favour at Court which I could not foresee. You are, I know, too public spirited not to have your thoughts and conversation taken up with the occurrences of this busy time, which makes me that I can scarce tell how to desire you should lay out any part of them on the perusal of my book. Though I am sure there is no one whose free and deliberate opinion I should be more desirous of than yours.

It is the observation of a wise man (Sir Will Temple) that solitude and leisure are the greatest advantages that riches can give those who possess them above all other men; and yet these are what rich men least of all make use of. He that is equally fitted for thought and meditation in his closet, or for business and conversation in the world is certainly the best able to serve his country, and can pass with the greatest evenness through all scenes of life. 'Tis thought which governs the world, and all the states in it, and produces whatever is great and glorious in them. Stirring and action is but the handmaid of thought, without which the former can do no good, but may a great deal of harm. Whatever therefore improves the thinking faculty surely ought to be practised. Now, thought is to the mind what motion is to the

body; both are equally improved by leisure and impaired by disuse. In order therefore to obtain health and strength of mind it is useful that we employ our thoughts, though it should be even on useless thoughts. How much rather ought we then to exercise them on the grounds and certainty of knowledge, the being and attributes of God, and the nature of our own soul. I mean not by this to persuade you that what I have written deserves much heed, but only to shew you that the subjects I have chosen are worth thinking on.

I am, S^r,

Yr most humble and

affec^t. Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 30th Oct. 1710.

D^r S^r,

There are here two clergymen who have perused your last book, Dr Clarke, and Mr Whiston, both deservedly esteemed men of excellent learning, though the last is a little different from the orthodox in some points, inclining as 'tis said to Arianism. Not having any acquaintance with these gentlemen I can only report to you by second hand that they think you a fair arguer, and a clear writer, but they say your first principles you lay down are false. They look on you as an extraordinary genius, and profess a value for you, but say they wished you had employed your thoughts less on metaphysics, ranking you with Father Malebranche¹, Norris² and another whose name I have

¹ [Nicolas Malebranche (1638—1715), *supra*, pp. 11, 19—20.]

² [John Norris (1657—1711), the critic of Locke, *supra*, p. 11.]

forgot, all whom they think extraordinary men, but of a particular turn, and their labours of little use to mankind for their abstruseness.

This is what I believe you are armed against as foreseeing the objection which possibly may proceed merely from a largeness of disposition, not caring to think after a new manner which would oblige them to begin their studies anew, or else it may be the strength of prejudice. For my part I don't design their opinion shall prevent my reading this book which though small in bulk is great for the matter. I doubt indeed my want of philosophy and ignorance of that sort of learning will make me less capable of understanding it than another.

My Lord Pembroke is not yet in town, and now there is no thought of employing him. I have your book by me to give him.

I am, &c.,

J. PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRIN. COLL. 27th Nov. 1710.

Dr S^r,

Your last (which came to hand after having been stopped for several posts by contrary winds) obliged me with the account that my 'Treatise of the Principles,' &c., had been perused by Dr Clarke and Mr Whiston. As truth is my aim, there is nothing I more desire than being helped forward in the search of it, by the concurring studies of thoughtful and impartial men: on both which accounts no less than for their uncommon learning and penetration those gentlemen are very deservedly much esteemed. This makes me very solicitous to know particularly what fault they find in the principles I proceed upon; which at this time cannot but be of great advantage to me in

that it will either convince me of an error, and so prevent my wasting any more time and pains that way, or else it will prove no small confirmation of the truth of my opinions, in case nothing solid can be objected to them by those great men. This makes me trouble you with the two enclosed letters to be sealed and sent by you to those gentlemen respectively, if you shall think it convenient, or if not I must entreat you to get your friend to obtain from them the particulars which they object, and that you will transmit them to me; which will in truth be a deed of charity, much greater than that of guiding a mistaken traveller into the right way, and I think either good office may be with like reason claimed by one man from another.

As to what is said of ranking me with Father Malebranche and Mr Norris, whose writings are thought too fine spun to be of any great use to mankind, I have this to answer: that I think the notions I embrace are not in the least coincident with, or agreeing with, theirs, but indeed plainly inconsistent with them in the main points, insomuch that I know few writers whom I take myself at bottom to differ more from than them. Fine spun metaphysics are what I on all occasions declare against, and if anyone shall shew me anything of that sort in my 'Treatise' I will willingly correct it.

I am sorry that I am not yet favoured with your own free thoughts on this subject. Would you but think away a few leisure hours in the morning on it, I dare say no one would understand it better. And, whether I am in a mistake or no, I doubt not but your own thoughts will sufficiently recompence your labour.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yr most obliged

humble Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

RATHMORE, 20 December, 1710.

D^r S^r,

The last post brought me your letter of the fourth instant which informs me what obligations I have to you on account of your care in providing that my book should be delivered to my Lord Pembroke, for which I return you my hearty thanks, and I shall reckon myself farther obliged to you if you will please to let me know whether my Lord has returned it (which you say is customary with him), or if by any other means his approbation or dislike of it shall come to your notice.

I am now at Mr Blithe's house in the County of Meath. It is a large and fair building and has very fine improvements about it. The young gentleman lives very well and since his father's death has behaved himself so in all respects as to have gained the reputation of a very hopeful and prudent man. He is now building a poor house for the maintenance of the poor of his estate, and intends to assign for that purpose a hundred pounds per annum. I tell you this because I know such news can be to no one more agreeable than to yourself.

The day before I left Dublin (which was something more than a week ago) I chanced to meet at the Provost's house with one Mr Langton a curate in the County of West-Meath, who had formerly been a Dominican friar. He came to complain of one of our College who together with several other of his Whig-parishioners had most grossly abused him during the time of Divine Service for preaching Passive Obedience. The sermon Mr Langton saith was one of Dr Scot's which he had transcribed. The said Mr Langton hath likewise given information upon oath to the government concerning an association or

conspiracy on foot amongst the Whig-inhabitants of the County of West-Meath in order to oblige the Queen to restore the late ministry. The Council hath thought fit to take notice of it, and sent up for some persons whose testimony Mr Langton made use of, but what has since been done in it I know not. I was acquainted with this Langton when I went to school in Kilkenny, and thought him to be somewhat silly. This mighty undertaking of the Whigs of West-Meath is certainly very ridiculous; but there are some who imagine the project extends farther than that county.

I purposed to have sent by Mr Percival half a dozen of my books to you, to be presented to such of your friends as are most conversant in those studies, but it happened that his things were then packed up and on shipboard. By that means I hoped the book would become public and known. I must therefore beg the favour of you that you will let any that are curious that way know that both my books are to be sold by Mr Churchil in Pater-Noster Row. I should not have given you this trouble but that Mr Churchil (who is my bookseller's correspondent) has neglected to publish them in the usual forms. Mr Pepyat suspects the ground of this backwardness in Mr Churchil to be his apprehending that the encouragement of a printing trade in this kingdom would interfere with his interest; since there are yearly exported great sums of money to him and other booksellers in London for books, which if that trade were encouraged might be printed cheaper in Dublin because there is not here so great an impost on paper. Besides the trial of Dr Sacheverell and several other things that have been lately printed in Dublin there are now in the press twenty thousand prayer-books and an edition of Erasmus's Colloquies, which for print, paper, and correctness will I believe match any of the Dutch editions. This flourishing of the printing trade, more than ever was known in this kingdom, will I hope

bring some benefit to poor Ireland, which consideration will I doubt not prove with you sufficient apology for my troubling you with this narrative of it.

It remains that I acknowledge the favour you do me in sending your thoughts of my production. It would greatly rejoice me to find you thought the whole worth your careful perusal. As for anything requisite to the understanding of it, I am sure to the making it I found little else useful than the plain common sense God hath given me together with an application and eagerness to discover the truth. And if you will take my word for it, I assure you there are not those great flights and difficulties in it that you seem to imagine, nothing more being necessary to a thorough comprehending and judging of it than a little exercise of your native faculties, which I am persuaded the author of nature never intended should be wholly employed in the little bustling affairs of this spot of earth.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble & affect. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 28th Dec. 1710.

D^r S^r,

Yesterday my friend was with me who delivered your book to my Lord Pembroke and said my Lord had been with him the day before to desire he would return you his thanks for it. He added you were an ingenious man and ought to be encouraged, but that he could not be convinced of the non-existence of matter. However your book was entertaining. Not being acquainted with the two gentlemen you

addressed your letters to, I gave them to two friends of theirs, who I suppose delivered them; for Mr Whiston is lately come to town, and Dr Clarke told his friend that he did not care to write you his thoughts, because he was afraid it might draw him into a dispute upon a matter which was already clear to him. I replied to the gentleman that if he did not care for exchanging many letters with you, I would engage for you that you would be content if he writ you once for all what were his objections. To which he answered that Dr Clarke thought your principles you go on are false, and that Mr Whiston had formerly told him the same, though both conceived a great opinion of you. Then he declined further speaking to Dr Clarke, who he said was a modest man, and uninclined to shock any men whose opinion in things of this nature differed from his own.

I shall inquire Mr Whiston's opinion more particularly of my other acquaintance and send it you.

I am, &c.,

J. PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRIN. COLL., Jan. 19th, 17¹⁰/₁₁.

D^r S^r,

Being just returned from the County of Meath I received not so soon as otherwise I should have done your last wherein I am informed of my Lord's favourable acceptance of my book. I am very sensible of the obligations I have to Mr Southwell for the trouble he has given himself in that affair, but since I have not the honour to be known by him, I doubt whether it be proper to return him thanks for the same. I leave it to you (who can best tell) whether it is or no,

and if it be must beg the favour of you to do it for me. Dr Clarke's conduct seems a little surprising. That an ingenious and candid person (as I take him to be) should declare I am in an error, and at the same time, out of modesty, refuse to shew me where it lies, is something unaccountable. For my own part, as I shall not be backward to recede from the opinion I embrace when I see good reason against it, so on the other hand, I hope to be excused if I am confirmed in it, the more upon meeting with nothing but positive and general assertions to the contrary. I never expected that a gentleman otherwise so well employed should think it worth his while to enter into a dispute with me concerning any notions of mine. But being it was so clear to him that I went on false principles, I hoped he would vouchsafe in a line or two to point them out to me that so I may more closely review and examine them. If he but once did me this favour he need not apprehend I would give him any further trouble, or offer any the least occasion for drawing him into a dispute with me. If you should happen to meet with his friend by chance (for I have already given you too much trouble in this matter) I shall be obliged to you in case you will let him know this was all my ambition. I am very thankful to you for endeavouring to inform me more particular in Mr Whiston's opinion. For there is nothing I more desire than to know thoroughly all that can be said against what I take for truth.

I am,

Dr S^r,

Yr most obliged humble

Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*TRIN. COLL., Feb. 13th, 1710/11.D^r S^r,

Having so often troubled you with my impertinencies I know not what else to say, but that I leave it to your own good nature to apologise for my repeating the trespass in making this new request to you, viz. that you will take care the enclosed letter be delivered to my Lord Pembroke, either by yourself or by the hands of some friend, or if you shall not think fitting to use one of these methods in the delivery of it, that you will send a servant who will be sure to leave it at my Lord's. I send it unsealed so that if you or your friend please to deliver it you may see what it contains; but you will remember to seal it if upon reading it you think there is anything improper in it (which you are best judge of) as I would not have it delivered at all.

Of late we have been alarmed at several reports of the plague being landed in this kingdom, but they have proved to have nothing in them. Dr Synge¹ has put forth an answer to Archdeacon Percival's reply to Dr Lambert's vindication of the letter, I mean to such part of it as concerns himself. I hear too that the Bishop of Cork is about an answer in his own behalf, so that the paper war is likely to prove violent and of long continuance. The new Lord Chancellor is much liked and well spoken of by all parties without seeming to interest himself in any. Your friends here are well, but we all long to see you and my Lady Percival, together with your little son (for such I hope it will prove), arrived safe on this side the water.

I am,

D^r S^r,Yr most obliged hum. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

¹ Edward Synge (1659—1741), son of Edward Synge, Bishop of Cork, now Archbishop of Tuam, 1736. P.

P.S.—The ends that I propose in writing to my Lord are first to thank him for his acceptance of my book, and secondly to give him to understand by the most gentle and couched intimation possible that I should gladly know the particular grounds of his dissent from me in the point of matter's existence, or the faults he finds in the arguments on that head. But I have conceived a great scruple and suspicion that it is not proper for me to address his Lordship in a letter. It would therefore be a great satisfaction to me if those ends could be obtained by word of mouth from some friend especially yourself (if you are yet introduced into the acquaintance of my Lord). But whether this can be done or not, I beg the favour of you to suppress the letter if you think there is anything in it in the least presumptuous, unmannerly, or apt to give offence, and to let me know your thoughts in a line or two.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRIN. COLL., *March 6th, 1710/11.*

D^r S^r,

This moment yours of the 27th of Feb. came to my hands. I heartily congratulate you upon your being blessed with a new sort of pleasure which bachelors cannot form a just notion of: something its reported there is in the tender passion of a father to his child so different from all other enjoyments. And this I doubt not is considerably heightened by the circumstances that attend it, as first the safe condition of my Lady Percival (which though you mention not, yet your letter assures me of it), and secondly the infant's proving of the nobler sex. It is true, your son and heir comes into the world at a factious and turbulent time, but I am not without hopes that he may spend the greater part of his life in the millennium, since from some modern interpretations we may expect

it will be far gone before he comes to age. May he inherit your good qualities as well as your estate in order to which I entreat you will read Mr Locke's book of 'Education' that abounds with excellent maxims. And, believe me, the foundations of a useful and healthy man cannot be laid too early.

I am,

Sir,

Yr most humble

and affec. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRIN. COLL., June 3rd, 1711.

D^r S^r,

I was given to expect that before this I should have had an opportunity of returning you my thanks here by word of mouth, but missing of that I cannot forbear any longer troubling you with a letter to express my acknowledgments for the care you were pleased to take of that I sent to my Lord Pembroke. I am very glad that your generous endeavours in behalf of our country have succeeded. Your friends here are well pleased upon their first finding by the printed notes that you stood up in opposition to the bill for a further impost on Irish yarn. I need not mention their sentiments on that occasion being persuaded that you think the inward satisfaction of having served your country a sufficient recompence for whatever trouble you were at on that account. This affair confirms me in a thought I formerly had, viz. that if some Irish gentlemen of good fortunes and generous

inclinations would constantly reside in England, there to watch for the interest of their own country, they may at such conjunctures bring it far greater advantage than they would by spending their incomes at home.

Dan. Dering presents his humble service to you. He would be well in all respects if he held an employment suitable to his merit. Since the late ministry did not I hope the new will do something for him. They cannot place their favours on a more deserving young gentleman.

Pray give my service to your brother and to Mr Clerke.

S^r,

Y^r most humble

and affect. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRIN. COLL., 17th May, 1712.

D^r S^r,

Your friends here are beholden to Mrs Parker¹ for letting us know by her letter to Mrs Donnellan that you are all arrived safe at your journey's end. And I am very glad that the worse accident we have to condole with you upon, is your being obliged to make a meal at the barracks on cold meat. Burton I find pleases beyond expectation; and I imagine it myself at this time one of the finest places in the world. And indeed the month of May, with the much more enlivening circumstance of good company, would make a more indifferent place delicious. Dunckarney, however, is not without its beauties;

¹ Mrs Mary Parker, my wife's sister, who married Daniel Dering in 1719. P.

and as I believe no news can be more agreeable to you than that which brings some account of its lonely inhabitants, I shall give a narrative of a visit I made them this evening.

I took a solitary walk that way, and upon my coming was informed that the little Lady and Esquire were withdrawn to their apartment. Miss indeed was in her deshabelle, but for all that I was admitted to visit her, and she entertained me with a familiarity and frankness greater than I had observed before. Both her complexion and carriage are altered for the better, the one being very fair, and the other free from those stately and affected airs which methought she had in Capel Street. In a word she is grown a very charming and conversible Lady, and seemed not at all displeased at my visit. But good manners obliged me to shorten it, so after a little discourse about her absent friends I left her, and my entertainment fell to the Esquire's share who acquitted himself very obligingly. We took a turn in the gallery and then walked in the gardens and avenue. You must not now imagine a child held up by leading strings that has not a word to say, but a brisk young gentleman who walks alone and bears his part in conversation. I told him what news I had heard of my Lady, Mrs Parker and yourself, with which he was very much pleased. But I observed his discourse ran chiefly on my Lady, whom he often mentioned, and seemed to long for her company to that degree, that if you still think of making the same stay you intended, I don't know but that he may send you a letter to desire you to hasten your return. He shall not want an amanuensis to write what he dictates in case he cannot do it himself.

I must not forget to tell you the following instance of his sagacity. As we were walking in the avenue Mr Percival being taken with the sight of a fine silver holly must needs touch it, but as soon as he felt the prickles drew back his hand. And upon my

insulting him and asking whether he would venture to touch it again, he very orderly borrowed my handkerchief and putting it about his hand touched the holly two or three times, to let me see he had wit enough to find a way of doing what I dared him to, without any inconvenience to his fingers.

He kisses still with open mouth, and has the same comical sneer with his nose. A child that shows such early and pregnant signs of good nature and good sense 'tis impossible I should not have a fondness for, even though he had not been your son. Yesterday I heard of a flaming beauty lately come from England who in Mrs Parker's absence attracts the eyes of our gentleman, but I foresee her reign is not to last longer than four months at farthest, and it is in the power of some at Burton to make it as much shorter as they please. But I forget myself, you are a grave married man, and I a sort of monk or recluse in a college; it doth not therefore become me to talk to you of gallantry. So I conclude.

Pray give my humble service to my Lady, and Mrs Parker. All friends are as well here as you can suppose them to be in the absence of so much good company.

S^r,

Y^r most affect.

humble Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRIN. COLL., June 5th, 1712.

D^r S^r,

You are grown so distrustful that I doubt you won't believe me, if I should tell you that I no sooner informed your son of the caution you gave him against women, but he fell a laughing, said it was all

banter, and swore he would never make his father a liar (alluding, you may suppose, to the predictions you used to make of him in Capel Street), and upon that fell to kissing his sister and nurses with all the eagerness imaginable. That he kissed them heartily is literally true. But what more pretty things he said and did, how he called himself 'brave boy,' and played on the fiddle &c. you shall know nothing of from me, since you gave so little to the adventure of the handkerchief, which was really as I reported it. Miss has two teeth in sight, and is every day so much altered for the better, both in features and complexion, that I am sure she will appear a perfect little stranger to all of you when you see her next. Both she and her brother, being very pretty, hearty, give their duty to you, their mother, and their aunt.

Dan. Dering and I design to visit your paradise, and are sure of finding angels there, notwithstanding what you say of their vanity. In plain English we are agreed to go down to Burton together, and rejoice with the good company there. I give you this timely warning that you may hang up two hammocks in the barn against our coming. I never lie in a feather bed in the college, and before now have made a very comfortable shift with a hammock. I conclude in haste.

Last night a servant of one Mr Alcock over the water hanged himself for the love of a coachman's daughter.

S^r,

Y^r most humble

and affect. Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*TRIN. COLL., 18th Aug. 1712.D^r S^r,

On Saturday night we came safe to town. I know not whether it is worth while to tell you, that the day I set out, being already half dead with the thoughts of leaving so much good company, it seemed as if the weather would have given the finishing stroke to my life; but the two following days were more favourable. Last night's pacquets have brought nothing remarkable that I can find, though at my first coming I met with a hot rumour in everybody's mouth of an action between the Dutch and French, whereof the event was uncertain. It is believed by some of our college-politicians that the Duke of Ormond stays in Flanders with a design to compel the Dutch to a peace in case they obstinately stand out. His Duchess, I hear, has been complimented by the Queen and Ministers upon his grace's conduct in securing Ghent &c. There is some talk of a triple alliance between Britain, France and Sweden. I am informed by a gentleman of my acquaintance just come from London that the account of my Lord Albemarle's defeat¹ was publicly cried about the streets by the title of good and joyful news. God grant that we have not a war with the Dutch.

I should have sent you the 4th part of 'John Bull,' but that Dan. Dering told me he sent it you by last Tuesday's post. My Lord Bolingbroke² is expected suddenly from France, whither I suppose you know he lately went along with Mr Prior³. The other day two malefactors were publicly pilloried and afterwards

¹ [Earl of Albemarle (1669—1718) was defeated and made prisoner by the French at the battle of Denain in July, 1712.]

² [Viscount Bolingbroke (1678—1751) was engaged at the time in negotiations which led to the Treaty of Utrecht.]

³ [Matthew Prior (1664—1721), poet and diplomatist.]

burnt alive in Felster's shop for having offered some affront to the memory of King William, which for ever ought to be held (at least by all Protestants of these nations) glorious and immortal as are his actions.

My best news I keep for the last. The two children are both very well. Master was ill indeed but is at present very easy, and his eye teeth are in sight which makes us think him past all danger. I gave your and my Lady's blessing to him; told him you were all well and designed to see him soon. He has made a new sort of a language for himself which I am not acquainted with, and as he is neither yet a perfect master of the English tongue, it is impossible for us exactly to understand one another. However, what with words and what with other signs and tokens he let me see his meaning. I am afraid to tell you the secret, but if I do, be sure do not let my Lady know it, lest it might prevent her ever spending another summer at Burton. To be plain the child seems not to care a farthing for you both. Long absence seems to have produced in him a perfect indifference for his parents. And a little longer stay will probably make him forget you quite. In all respects he is the same (with improvement) that he was before; the same pleasant, sensible, good natured boy. Miss Kitty at first sight methought was grown unwieldily fat, but upon examination I found it to be a plump and firm flesh, which in a very sufficient quantity covers her cheeks and arms, betokening much nourishment and good digestion. She is as brisk and lively as you could wish, and is without dispute the most agreeable young lady that I have seen on this side Burton. Nevertheless if I may be allowed to be a judge of beauty I should give it master for features and miss for complexion.

Robin stays impatiently for my letter which makes me conclude in haste with my most humble service to my Lady and Mrs Parker. My humble service to

Mr Brererton. I delivered his letter, his wife and family are all well. I have made his excuses for not coming up.

D^r S^r,

Y^r most humble

and most affect.

Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, Jan. 26th, 17¹²/₁₃.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

In a fortnight after I left Dublin I arrived here having made easy journeys and staid some time at Chester. The road from Coventry to London was very bad, the rest of the way tolerable enough. I was surprised to find the country in the depth of winter look incomparably pleasanter than most parts of Ireland in midsummer. But if the country outdid my expectation, the towns fell short of it, even London itself seems to exceed Dublin not so much in the stateliness or beauty of its buildings as in extent. I wrote from Holyhead to an acquaintance of mine to provide me a lodging, which he did in the same house with the provost and Mr Molyneux. We generally see one another in the morning, but for the rest of the day are dispersed about the town, and I loving early hours am gone to bed before either of them come home at night. Upon my first coming I was confined for some days, till my portmanteaux came by carriage from Chester. In the meantime Mr Clerke hearing I was in town came to see me, and next day engaged

Charles Dering¹ and me to dine at his house with him, which is very neat and convenient. He is as I always found him very obliging and good natured, and seems in as good health as ever I knew him. He went with me to Mr Southwell, who received me very civilly, and with great willingness introduced me two days since to my Lord Pembroke, who is a man perfectly good natured as well as very learned, and with whom I have the prospect of passing some part of my time as much to my satisfaction as anything can be in the absence of my friends in Ireland. As I troubled you to ask this favour of Mr Southwell, so I must again trouble you to thank him for it the first time you write to him. There is lately published a very bold and pernicious book entitled a 'Discourse on Free Thinking.' I hear the printer of it is put into Newgate, as is likewise a woman for selling a ballad on the Duke D'Aumont as being a wine-merchant.

For want of other news you must give me leave to tell you a very remarkable story I heard the other morning from the Provost and Mr Molyneux. Mr Tickel, fellow of Oxford, an ingenious, credible and sober person, author of the poem on the approaching peace, gave them the following account. That there is in a forest in Hampshire an oak which buds and shoots forth leaves every Christmas day. A year or two ago he went himself to make the experiment. He saw it in a light night about two hours before day, at which time it had not the least appearance of bud or leaf, but when day came was covered with both: several of the leaves about as large as sixpence he plucked and carried to Oxford, where about forty persons saw them. A gentleman, who was present when the Provost and Mr Molyneux were telling this fact, added he had seen some of the leaves gathered by another.

¹ Charles Dering, eldest son of my uncle, Auditor General of Ireland. P.

The first news I heard upon coming to town was that Mr Steele did me the honour to desire to be acquainted with me: upon which I have been to see him. He is confined with the gout, and is, as I am informed, writing a play since he gave over the 'Spectators.' This gentleman is extremely civil and obliging, and I propose no small satisfaction on the conversation of him and his ingenious friends, which as an encouragement he tells me are to be met with at his house. The Bishop of Dromore is dead: yesterday in the afternoon the French Ambassador's house was burnt down to the ground by the carelessness of his servants. They say fine pictures and other moveables of the Duke of Powis's are likewise burnt in it, being locked up in the garrets to the value of forty thousand pounds. The other day dining at a tavern with two or three Irish clergymen, I found it a very difficult matter ✓ to persuade them you were no Whig: I venture however to send you the enclosed 'Examiners,' as well knowing you are no enemy to wit and humour, though in a Tory. Of late they are written by some new hand, and much better than formerly; I speak not with regard to the party debates, but to the style and spirit, which is all we moderate sort of men mind in those sort of papers.

Your most affect. &

most obliged humble Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

This day I dined again at Mr Clerke's where we drank your health. He talks of seeing you in Ireland this summer, and says Dublin is the finest city in the world.

My letters are directed to the Pall Mall Coffee-House in the Pall Mall.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, *Feb.* 23rd, 17¹²₁₃¹.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

This night Mr Bligh is to have a ball at the late Duke Hamilton's house in St James's Square. The Marlborough family and one Mrs Warburton and Mrs Duncomb make part of his company. Sir Philip is at length come to town. I find in him that frank good humour and other good qualities which might be expected in my Lady's and Mrs Parker's brother : he is very obliging.

Mr Addison and Mr Steele (and so far as I can find, the rest of that party) seem entirely persuaded there is a design for bringing over the Pretender ; they think everything looks that way, and particularly three of the best Papist officers, Lieutenant General Mackoni, Major General Laules, and Brigadier Skelton, being now all in London. Laules, Mr Addison assured me, was discovered by an officer at the Queen's birth-night, the other two came over, one on pretence of sueing for his wife's or sister's fortune, the other of being in love with a lady here. All these are Irishmen, that have followed the fortunes of King James. I have heard another general officer of the same gang mentioned as being here, but forgot his name ; and that the Duke of Berwick's aunt was known to say, her nephew would soon be in London. Some Jacobite Tories whom I have happened to converse with seem full of the same expectations. I must desire you will not quote me for this, not caring to be thought the spreader of such news. But I tell this to my Lady, Mrs Parker, and yourself, that you may take proper measures against that time.

The value you always shewed for the 'Spectator' makes me think it neither impertinent nor unwelcome news to tell you that by his mother-in-law's death he is come into an estate of five hundred pounds a year; the

¹ Answered 14 *March.* P.

same day his wife was brought to bed of a son. Before she laid down the poor man told me he was in great pain and put to a thousand little shifts to conceal her mother's desperate illness from her. The tender concern he shewed on that occasion, and what I have observed in another good friend of mine, makes me imagine the best men are always the best husbands. I told Mr Steele if he neglects to resume his writings, the world will look on it as the effects of his growing rich. But he says this addition to his fortune will rather encourage him to exert himself more than ever; and I am the apter to believe him, because there appears in his natural temper something very generous and a great benevolence to mankind. One instance of it is his kind and friendly behaviour to me (even though he has heard I am a Tory). I have dined frequently at his house in Bloomsbury Square, which is handsome and neatly furnished. His table, servants, coach and everything is very genteel, and in appearance above his fortune before this new acquisition. His conversation is very cheerful and abounds with wit and good sense. Somebody (I know not who) had given him my treatise of the 'Principles of Human Knowledge,' and that was the ground of his inclination to my acquaintance. For my part I should reckon it a sufficient recompence of my pains in writing it, that it gave me some share in the friendship of so worthy a man. But though conversation of him and other new friends is very agreeable, yet I assure you it all falls short of Capel Street.

I hear a sudden and general rumour that the peace has passed the seals and will be proclaimed next week. News from your fireside (would you but oblige me so far) would be infinitely more acceptable than from any court in Europe. My most humble service to my Lady and Mrs Parker.

Your most affect^d

and obliged Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, *March 7th, 17¹²₁₃¹.*D^r S^r JOHN,

I know not by what accident yours of the 11 Feb^y came not to my hands till the last post. Your presages of my good fortune I look on rather as kind wishes that deserve my thanks, than real prophecies that may raise my hopes. Happiness, whether in a high or low degree, is the same thing. And I desire no more. And this perhaps is more within anybody's reach than is vulgarly imagined.

In my last I gave you some intimation of Mr Bligh's ball. The Marlborough's family being there disgraced him with the Tories, his friends at the Cocoa-tree, whither he constantly goes. And soon after it there was an advertisement published in one of the printed papers, giving an account that the Duchess of Marlborough had left a hundred guineas to be laid out in a ball at Duke Hamilton's House, as a triumph over his Grace's memory. This affront, which robbed him of the glory of his ball, could not but be uneasy to Mr Bligh. Dr Swift (whom I met by chance at my Lord Pembroke's two nights ago) told me Mr Bligh had applied to the author of the Post-Boy, to publish contradiction to his former advertisement; but that he refused to do it without the Duchess of Hamilton's consent. Mr Bligh prevailed with Dr Swift to introduce him to the Duchess in order to obtain it. But her Grace being a smart woman, and the Dr (as he says himself) very ill naturedly taking part with her against Dr Bligh, they proved to him the unreasonableness of his request, and sent him away in no small confusion.

It is reported we shall have the peace proclaimed this week. Both Whigs and Tories give out, either that six

¹ Answered 14th. P.

new peers are to be created, or more than that number of young noblemen called up into the House of Lords.

You will soon hear of Mr Steele under the character of the 'Guardian'; he designs his paper shall come out every day as the 'Spectator.' He is likewise proposing a noble entertainment for persons of a refined taste. It is chiefly to consist of the finest pieces of eloquence translated from the Greek and Latin authors. They will be accompanied with the best music suited to raise those passions that are proper to the occasion. Pieces of poetry will be there recited. These informations I have from Mr Steele himself. I have seen the place designed for these performances: it is in York Buildings, and he has been at no small expence to embellish with all imaginable decorations. It is by much the finest chamber I have seen, and will contain seats for a select company of 200 persons of the best quality and taste, who are to be subscribers. I had last night a very ingenious new poem upon Windsor Forest given me by the author, Mr Pope. This gentleman is a Papist, but a man of excellent wit and learning, and one of those Mr Steele mentions in his last paper as having writ some of the 'Spectators.'

I am extremely honoured by my Lady and Mrs Parker that they have not quite forgot me. Pray give my best humble service to them, and let them know that notwithstanding the great distance between us they are every day present to my thoughts. Sir Philip and Mr Clerke are very well. We were a day or two ago at Mr Clerke's remembering our friends in Ireland.

I am,

D^r S^r John,

Y^r most humb. & affect^d Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, *March 27th, 17 ^{$\frac{12}{13}$} .*D^r S^r,

I received your letter about three days since. Your opinion of Mr Steele I take to be very just, and am persuaded a man of his discernment and insight into men will know how to value an acquaintance so much to be courted as that you design to honour him with. His wit, natural good sense, generous sentiments, and enterprising genius, with a peculiar delicacy and easiness of writing, seem those qualities which distinguish Mr Steele. Mr Addison has the same talents in a high degree, and is likewise a great philosopher, having applied himself to speculative studies more than any of the wits that I know.

After what I have formerly told you of the apprehensions those gentlemen had, I think myself obliged to let you know that they are now all over. Mr Steele having told me this week that he now imagines my Lord Treasurer had no design of bringing in the Pretender, and in case he had, that he is persuaded he could never perform it; and this morning I breakfasted with Mr Addison at Dr Swift's lodging. His coming in whilst I was there, and the good temper he shewed, was construed by me as a sign of an approaching coalition of parties, Mr Addison being more earnest in the Whig cause than Mr Steele (the former having quitted an employment, rather than hold it under the Tories, which by a little compliance he might have done), and there having passed a coldness, if not a direct breach, between those two gentlemen and Dr Swift on the score of politics. Dr Swift's will is admired by both of them, and indeed by his greatest enemies; and if I were not afraid of disobliging my Lady and Mrs Parker I should tell you that I think

¹ Answered 21 *April*. P.

him one of the best natured and agreeable men in the world.

Mr Steele's entertainment at York Buildings only waits the finishing of two pictures, the one of truth, the other of eloquence, which are designed as part of the ornaments of the place where it is to be. He tells me he has had some discourse with the Lord Treasurer relating to it, and talks as if he would engage my Lord Treasurer in his project, designing that it shall comprehend both Whigs and Tories. A play of Mr Steele's, which was expected, he has now put off to next winter. But Cato, a most noble play of Mr Addison's, and the only one he writ, is to be acted in Easter week. The town is full of expectation of it, the boxes being already bespoke, and he designing to give all the benefit away among the actors in proportion to their performing. I would send you the 'Guardians' and two very fine poems, one of them being writ by an Irish Clergyman, Dr Parnell, if you would direct me how.

My humble service to my Lady and Mrs Parker.

Y^r most hum. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, Apr. 16th, 1713.

D^r S^r,

If I had sooner known of my Lady's being delivered of a daughter, I should sooner have congratulated you upon that good fortune. I say this that you might not think me insensible of your happiness, though you were not pleased to impart it to me.

For public news I suppose the public papers sufficiently inform you as to that. However I shall tell you

two or three particulars which I believe you have not heard. About three weeks ago my Lord Treasurer was at a meeting of Whigs at my Lord Halifax's house. The Duke of Argyle and some other Tory Lords who were jealous of this taxed my Lord Treasurer with it in a private company, and were curious to know what was the business of that conference; to which he answered no more than this: What! am I not fit to be trusted? I would not be understood to apprehend a change by this, but only tell it as an instance of that man's secrecy, and to shew that he is not on such violent terms with those of the other party as may be imagined. I was informed of this by a gentleman that was present at what passed between my Lord and the Duke of Argyle &c. The same person is very acquainted with all the ministers and with my Lady Masham and declared to me that he never heard the least expression drop from any of them (and he makes one in almost all their partys of private meetings) that looked like an inclination to the Pretender.

On Tuesday last Mr Addison's play entitled Cato was acted the first time. I am informed the front boxes were all bespoke for nine days, a fortnight before the play was acted. I was present with Mr Addison, and two or three more friends in a side box, where we had a table and two or three flasks of burgundy and champagne, with which the author (who is a very sober man) thought it necessary to support his spirits in the concern he was then under; and indeed it was a pleasant refreshment to us all between the acts. He has performed a very difficult task with great success, having introduced the noblest ideas of virtue and religion upon the stage with the greatest applause, and in the fullest audience that ever was known. The actors were at the expence of new habits, which were very magnificent, and Mr Addison takes no part of the profit, which will be very great, to himself. Some parts of the prologue,

which were written by Mr Pope, a Tory and even a Papist, were hissed, being thought to favour of whiggism, but the clap got much the hiss. My Lord Harley, who sat in the next box to us, was observed to clap as loud as any in the house all the time of the play. Though some Tories imagine his play to have an ill design, yet I am persuaded you are not so violent as to be displeased at the good success of an author (whose aim is to reform the stage) because his hero was thought to be a Roman whig.

This day I dined at Dr Arbuthnot's lodging in the Queen's palace. The Dr read part of a letter from a friend in France, which gave an account that the French king is now forming a company of merchants to whom he will grant great privileges and encouragements to import into his kingdom sixty thousand head of black cattle alive. The gentleman who wrote the letter (whose name I am obliged not to mention) says that he was offered to be made director of this affair but that he refused it, being of the opinion it would prove very prejudicial to Her Majesty's dominions, and particularly to Ireland, whence they propose to import the greatest part of the cattle. This looks as if the stock of France was exhausted, and perhaps it may not be amiss if the Council of Ireland would enter on some measures to prevent the exhausting the stock of their own country by supplying France.

This Dr Arbuthnot is the first proselyte I have made by the Treatise I came over to print, which will soon be published. His wit you have an instance of in his 'Art of Political Lying,' and the tracts of 'John Bull' of which he is the author. He is the Queen's domestic physician, and in great esteem with the whole Court. Nor is he less valuable for his learning, being a great philosopher, and reckoned among the first mathematicians of the age. Besides which he has likewise the character of very uncommon virtue and probity.

D. Dering is so full of business that I can hardly

ever see him. My humble service to my Lady and Mrs Parker. Pray inform me of the children in your next.

Your most hum. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, 7th May, 1713.

D^r S^r,

I am very glad to hear that Miss has pleased the world so well upon her first appearance in it, and foresee there is not a pair in the Queen's dominions to whom the public will have greater obligations for propagating a healthy and beautiful race, than to my Lady and yourself.

By the account I gave you in my last, I did not apprehend that the French would be able to rival us in our beef trade, but the danger that I and others apprehended from their project was, that the exporting so many head of black cattle out of Ireland might lessen the stock there, and by that means occasion an effect in its consequences much more prejudicial to the kingdom, than the present pistoles they would import might be of advantage to it.

Mr Molyneux has been this considerable time gone for Utrecht, whence he designs to continue his travels into Italy &c., and Mr Bligh is gone to France.

Mr Addison's play has taken wonderfully, they have acted it now almost a month, and would I believe act it a month longer were it not that Mrs Oldfield cannot hold out any longer, having had for several nights past, as I am informed, a midwife behind the scenes, which is surely very unbecoming the character of

Cato's daughter. I hear likewise that the principal players are resolved for the future to reform the stage, and suffer nothing to be repeated there, which the most virtuous persons might not hear, being now convinced by experience that no play ever drew a greater concourse of people, than the most virtuous.

Pray let my Lady and Mrs Parker know that I converse much with Whigs. The very day on which the peace was proclaimed, instead of associating with Tories, I dined with several of the other party at Dr Garth's, where we drank the Duke of Marlborough's health, though they had not the heart to speak one word against the peace, and indeed the spirit of the Whigs seems quite broken, and is not likely to recover.

I believe as you do that I shall stay longer here than I at first designed, and am much obliged to you for your kind offer, but, I thank God, that way of life which best suits with my circumstances is not disagreeable to my inclinations. There is here a Lord of my name, a man of letters and a very worthy man, from whom I have received great civilities; I dine two or three times a week at his table, and there are several other places where I am invited, which lightens my expence, and makes it easier living here than I expected. I saw Sir Philip Parker yesterday. He is resolved upon going to Ireland the latter end of this, or the beginning of next, month. My humble service to my Lady and Mrs Parker.

I am, Dr Sir,

Your most obliged

& most humb. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Percival to Berkeley.*DUBLIN, 14th May, 1713.

DEAR MR BERKELEY,

I hear your new book is printed though not yet published, and that your opinion has gained ground among the learned; that Mr Addison is come over to you; and now what seemed shocking at first is become so familiar that others envy you the discovery and make it their own. This is a great progress for so short a time, and will I fear make you think England a more kindly soil for such productions than the country of your birth. However, we on this side will insist on it that the plant is our own, and owes her sprouting up so quick in England, not so much to the nature of that soil, as to the advantage of being transplanted into fresh ground. So if you come back to us altered in your taste and sense of things, we will still pride ourselves that you are of Irish growth, and any improvement you receive shall be owing only to the new ideas raised in you, which your own native genius has by reflection turned to good use, not in the excellency of things that offer themselves. So the rude ore has nothing in appearance delightful or useful till an artist by his skill extracts the silver.

You have now an opportunity of gratifying one piece of curiosity which I have heard you very inquisitive about when on this side, I mean the surprise of a person born blind, when made to see. One Grant, an oculist, has put out advertisement of his art this way, with whom I believe you would find satisfaction in discoursing.

I have desired Dan^l Dering when he comes to bring me a perspective glass five feet long, and beg you will assist him in the choice of a good one, to be bought of the best artist that way.

I am, Sir, &c.,

J. PERCIVAL.

To Mr Berkeley in London.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, 2nd June, 1713.D^r S^r,

Your letter wherein you desire me to assist Mr Daniel Dering in the choice of a telescope for you came to my hands after his departure for Ireland. If in that or any other affair you will lay your commands upon me, I hope I need not tell you that I should be glad to serve you. As to what you mention of a dispute on foot here, concerning the invention of some notions that I have published, I do not know of anything which might give ground for that report, unless it be that a clergyman of Wiltshire has lately put forth a treatise, wherein he advances something which had been published three years before in my 'Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge.' D. Dering brings you one of the books I printed the other day. I shall be very glad to hear your opinion of it, and that you thought it worth your perusal. I have discoursed with Mr Addison, Dr Smalridge, and several others since my coming hither, upon the points I have endeavoured to introduce into the world. I find them to be men of clear understandings and great candour.

Having mentioned Dr Smalridge I cannot but take notice to you that I think myself very happy in the acquaintance I have made with him. He is a man no less amiable for his cheerfulness of temper and good nature, than he is to be respected for his piety and learning. He and Bishop Atterbury are mentioned for the Bishopric of Rochester and Deanery of Westminster, which go together. If Atterbury is preferred before him, people will look on it as owing to a division between that Dean and the Canons of Christchurch, Oxon, which the government is willing to put an end to.

The Scotch are in a great ferment, occasioned by

the malt tax, insomuch that they have proposed the breaking of the Union. And it is now in the mouth of everyone that the Duke of Argyle and the rest of them are fallen off from the Court interests. It is reported that they had lately a meeting with the Whigs at the Duke of Devonshire's, wherein they promised to vote with them for bringing over the heir of Hanover, and running down the Treaty of Commerce, in case the Whigs would join them in taking off the malt tax. This trafficking for votes looks very dishonourable. Love of their country is pretended to be the motive that stirs up the Scots, but others think it is love of places and pensions which they propose to get by bullying the Court.

My most humble service to my Lady and Mrs Parker.

I am, in haste,

Your most humble

& affect. Servant,

GEORGE BERKELEY.

Percival to Berkeley.

DUBLIN, 18th July, 1713.

DEAR SIR,

I have directed this to London, though I believe you are now at Oxford, but my letter might miss you there.

I hope you will be so kind as to give us some account of the Act, and how that noble University has entertained you, where the aspect of the place and way of life is different from anything I believe you have seen before.

You will not want that I should inform you of what passed two days ago in your college in relation to the expulsion and degrading of Forbes. Therefore I will say no more but give you some sense of the matter, that as far as the master's attempt could though in consequence reflect on the memory of King William and countenance a Jacobite principle, I rejoice that they miscarried, for I am still, as I hope ever to be, a grateful acknowledger of that man's services to our religion and liberties.

I heard the other day from a collegian that you have writ some friends word, you do not intend to come back, and he said if you did not come in four months, you of course would lose your fellowship, unless the Queen gave you liberty in that point. Perhaps the late advancement of two junior fellows to be seniors will make you think it worth your while not to quit the college, you are so near a senior fellowship, but if you are otherwise determined, I shall not doubt but that it is on a very good account, and I shall be very glad to hear of your advancement in England.

I can now tell you I have read your last book through and through, and I think with as much application as I ever did any. The new method you took by way of dialogue, I am satisfied has made your meaning much easier understood, and was the properest course you could use in such an argument, where prejudice against the novelty of it was sure to raise numberless objections that could not anyway so easy as by dialogue be either made or answered. It is not common for men possessed of a new opinion to raise so many arguments against it as you have done, whether it be for want of ingenuity, and a partiality to themselves, that they won't see their notions in all lights to be viewed, or else because they are blinded, and really do not perceive the weight and number of reasons against them; but I speak with all sincerity, I am equally surprised at the number of objections

you bring and the satisfactory answers you give afterwards, and I declare I am much more of your opinion than I was before. The least I can say is, that your notion is as probable as that you argue against, and when prejudice is wore off it must bear down the balance, towards which there is nothing contributes more than urging the point, as I did lately on one occasion, where finding I was able to make my party good, though I had not then gone through your book, I began to think it unreasonable to favour an old opinion more than a new one, when there was as much to say for the one as the other, and at least equal difficulties against both.

I hear Dr Swift has said you have not made a convert of Dr Arbuthnot.

In short, prejudice to the understanding is like a mist to the sight, the fault is not in the object, neither is it in the eye, but a thick vapour arises from the irregularity of our wills which obscures for a while the things we would see, 'till the sunshine of reason disperses it.

I have writ you a long letter, and it is time to conclude.

&c.

J. PERCIVAL.

My wife and sister desire their services and, because they know you wish us all well, bid me tell you the children are all well and thriving.

Berkeley to Percival.

OXFORD, 19th July, 1713.

Dr S^r,

I have been now almost a month in this town and think it to be the most delightful place I have ever seen, as well as for the pleasantness of its

situation, as that great number of ancient and modern buildings which have a very agreeable effect on my eye, though I came from London and visited Hampton Court and Windsor by the way.

It may perhaps be some entertainment to give you an account of the solemnity with which the Act has been celebrated in this place. For several days together we have had the best music of all kinds in the theatre performed by the most eminent persons of London, from the Opera, Queen's Chapel &c., joined with some belonging to the chorus of Oxford; and with the music there were intermixed public exercises as disputations in the several facultys, speeches, declamations, and verses. These performances drew together a great concourse both from London and the country, amongst whom were several foreigners, particularly about thirty Frenchmen of the Ambassador's company, who (it is reported) were all robbed by one single highwayman as they were coming from London, who is since taken. The town was so crowded that lodgings at other times not worth half a crown were set for a guinea the week. It was computed that at once there were two thousand ladies in the theatre. During the time of the Act and since, there was nothing but feasting and music in the several colleges. Plays are acted every night, and the town is filled with puppet-shows, and other the like diversions. But there is no part of the entertainment so agreeable to me as the conversation of Dr Smalridge, who is in all respects a most excellent person. Two days since he was installed Dean of Christ Church. The same day a young gentleman of Christ Church College was found drowned in the public house of office. He fell in about four days before, through the holes which were too wide, and by some groans that were heard it is computed that he lived about five hours in that miserable condition.

The weather is extremely bad, I think no better than we had last summer at Burton. And indeed in

this particular I have been very much disappointed ever since my coming into England.

My most humble respects to my Lady, Mrs Parker, your little son and daughters. I should be glad to hear how Mr Johnny speaks, and what he says. If you favour me with a line, direct to Mr Ives's over against All Souls College.

I am, S^r,

Your most humble

& affect. Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

OXFORD, Aug. 7th, 1713¹.

D^r S^r,

It makes me have a better opinion of my book that you have thought it worth your while to read it through, and not dislike the notions it contains the more for having attended to them. As it was my intention to conceal or smother nothing that made against me I endeavoured to place all objections in the fairest light, and if either you or any other ingenious friend will communicate any which are not answered, I shall not fail to consider them with all the impartiality I can.

As to what you write of Dr Arbuthnot's not being of my opinion, it is true there has been some difference between us concerning some notions relating to the necessity of the laws of nature, but this does not touch the main point of the non-existence of what philosophers call material substance, against which he has acknowledged he can object nothing.

¹ Answered 7th Sept. P.

I cannot imagine what should give occasion to the report of my not designing to go back to Ireland, since I have never written one word to that purpose to any friend there. I thank you for your kind concern for my advancement in the world, though I assure you it is not any prospect of that kind that detains me here. The steps I have taken since my coming hither, having been rather in order to make some acquaintance with men of merit, than to engage myself in the interests of those in power. Besides the greatest satisfaction which I proposed by living in England, I am utterly disappointed in, I mean fair weather, which we have had as little of here as ever I knew in the worst season in Ireland. And this circumstance makes me more in love with my own country than I was before. There is another motive which would give the preference in my thoughts to Ireland, viz. the conversation of yourself and the good company you have with you ; but when I consider it is likely you will spend as much of your time here as there, I look on that point as making for neither side. The more I think on it, the more I am persuaded that my happiness will not consist in riches and advancement. If I could prosecute my studies in health and tranquillity, that would make me as happy as I expect to be in this life, but in the College I enjoyed neither in that degree I do at present.

Pray give my most humble service to my Lady and Mrs Parker, and her nephew and nieces.

I am, D^r S^r,
Y^r most affect. & most obliged
humble Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, Aug. 27th, 1713.D^r S^r,

Last night I came hither from Oxford. I could not without some regret leave a place which I had found so entertaining, on account of the pleasant situation, healthy air, magnificent buildings, and good company, all which I enjoyed the last fortnight of my being there with much better relish than I had done before, the weather having been during that time very fair, without which I find nothing can be agreeable to me. But the far greater affliction that I sustained about this time twelvemonth in leaving Burton made this seem a small misfortune. The first news I heard upon my coming to town was that two or three nights since Mr Bligh was married to the Lady Theodosia Hide, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon. I am told she is a great beauty, and has to her fortune about two thousand pound per annum: but I believe this is magnified. She is Baroness of Clifton, which title will descend to her son. I went to see him this morning when it was past ten o'clock, but he was not then stirring. Mr Bligh has not been above ten days come from France, so that the match must have been very sudden. The Provost who knows Lady Theodosia says she is of a brisk and lively temper. I hardly find anyone that I used to converse with in town. But I was obliged to come here in order to solicit a licence for absence from the College, at the Secretary's Office, the house thinking themselves obliged to put me to the expence and trouble of it. Mr Clerke I am informed went yesterday to the Bath. Pray give my humble respects to my Lady, Mrs Parker, S^r Philip, and the little pledges of your and my Lady's love.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most humble

& most affect. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, 2nd Oct. 1713.D^r S^r,

The description you favoured me with of your little offspring was very entertaining, and though slightly amiable has, I am persuaded, nothing of a father's fondness in it: what shall we think of your family which had before the greatest charms of any that I ever knew, when it is enriched by the accession of these growing wits and beauties. As I cannot but think your condition to be envied for the present, since you have so much good company within your own walls, so I am troubled when I consider, that you must lose it in a little time; your son will distinguish himself in the University, and at Court, and your daughters will be forced from you by men of the greatest merit and fortune in England.

Lady Theodosia Bligh is I think the most airy young creature I ever saw: she detests the thought of going to Ireland, and Mr Bligh is about taking a house, and purchasing the furniture of it from my Dr Stairs.

I am informed that the Queen and Council at Windsor have decided the affair in dispute between the Government and city of Dublin in favour of the latter, to me it is surprising that you should begin a contest with the aldermen which you were not able to go through with.

I have good hopes that the public welfare will be better provided for by our treaty of peace and commerce than you seem to apprehend. My reason for this is, that on all hands it is agreed the Tories have incomparably the majority in the elections for parliament men, which could hardly be, in case they were thought to pursue methods destructive of the nation. Since I have been obliged to get a licence from the Queen for absence from the college, I shall probably

stay longer than I intended, and do not now think of returning before Christmas.

Mr Steele having laid down his employments, because (as he says) he would not be obliged to those to whom he could not be grateful, has of late turned his head towards politics and published a pamphlet in relation to Dunkirk, which you may perhaps have seen by this time.

My humble service to my Lady and Mrs Parker.

D^r S^r,

Your most humble

& affect^t Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, 15th Oct. 1713¹.

D^r S^r,

I have just time to take my leave of you and let you know that I am now on the point of going to Sicily, where I propose seeing the new king's coronation. I go Chaplain to my Lord Peterborough who is the ambassador extraordinary sent thither on this occasion. We take France, &c. in our way. There is not any place that I have a greater curiosity to see than Sicily. I cannot now make a certain judgment of things, how they are likely to go with me, but when I am there in case I find myself pressed I shall have recourse to the kind offer you have often made me. This notion is very sudden. Pray give my respects to my Lady, Mrs Parker, &c.

I am, D^r S^r,

Your most affect^t

& obed. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

¹ Answered 5th Nov. P.

*Berkeley to Percival.*PARIS, 24th Nov. N.S. 1713¹.D^r S^r,

On the 25th Oct. O.S. I set out from London in company of a Frenchman, a Spaniard, and a Flandrian, with three English servants of my Lord's. I was glad of this opportunity of going before with Col. Du Hamel, my Lord's aide-de-camp, that I may have time to see Paris etc. before my Lord's arrival; besides I found a great benefit in travelling with foreigners, which obliged me to speak the French language. The 29th about four in the morning after a very narrow escape we landed at Calais. Here my Lord's chariot, which brought the Colonel and me from London to Dover, was to wait his coming; and it was left to my choice either to ride fast with the Col. (who was obliged to go before to provide lodgings &c. in Paris), or stay till the stage coach went. I chose the latter, and on the 12th Nov^r N.S. embarked in the stage coach with a company who were all perfect strangers to me. There happened to be one English gentleman and two Scotch, among whom was Mr Martin, the author of 'The Voyage to St Kilda.' He also published an account of the other western islands of Scotland. We were very cheerful on the road, and the inhabitants of St Kilda did not a little contribute to our diversion. For certain reasons I omit saying anything of the country, the towns, or the people that we saw in our seven days' journey from Calais to Paris, where we arrived on the 17th N.S. in the evening. The next day I dined with the Ambassador of Sicily, where there were several Sicilian and Piedmontese persons of quality. Since that I have visited Mr Prior, and am to dine with him today. He is a man of good sense and learning, and lives magnificently as becomes the Queen's Plenipotentiary. My time is thus divided between foreigners and statesmen, and the intervals of time are filled up with

¹ Answered 17th Dec. P.

thinking on my absent friends, and viewing the noble buildings and pieces of painting and statuary, which are here very numerous, and so far as I can judge excellent.

I have here met with a pleasant ingenious gentleman, Mons^r l'abbé d'Aubigne, Chevalier of the order of St Lazarus, who has undertaken to shew me everything that is curious. I have spent the two last days with him: today he is to introduce me to Father Mallebranche, a famous philosopher in this city; and tomorrow we go together to Versailles. It were endless to recount particulars, all I shall say is, that the magnificence of their churches and convents surpasses my expectation. The day before yesterday I visited the place de Vendome, le place de Victoire, and le place Regale, and the Louvre, le convent des Capucins, le Feuillant, l'Eglise des Minims, l'Eglise des Celestins, where are the tombs of the ancient kings. Yesterday we saw the monastery of St Genevieve, with its library and cabinet of rarities; the English college where the body of King James and that of his daughter are still to be seen exposed in their coffins. The people who take the king for a saint have broke off several pieces of the coffin, &c. for relics. We saw likewise the Irish college, and the Sorbonne, where we were present at their Divinity disputations. All is wonderfully fine and curious, but the finest of all is the Chapel in the Church of the Invalides, which the Abbé d'Aubigne assured me was not to be surpassed in Italy. We now expect my Lord every minute in Paris; so that I am in a great hurry, being willing to profit of the little time I stay here; however, I snatched the present moment to write you this scrawl, which I hope you will excuse.

D^r S^r, Your most hum^{le}

& most affect. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

My most humble service to my Lady and Mrs Parker.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LYONS, Dec. 28th, 1713¹.D^r S^r,

Lyons has been filled all this day with rejoicings of all sorts, on account of the king's statue, which was placed this morning on its pedestal in the middle of the great place. Some part of the solemnity was pretty singular, the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs were drawn out in their formalities, and bare-headed to salute the statue. The mayor made a speech to it, I am told it will be printed. The fireworks are now beginning to play, but I have more pleasure in snatching the present opportunity of writing to you than I should in seeing that spectacle. This is a very noble city, and more populous and rich in proportion than Paris. It has several fine buildings and antiquities, which made the week I have spent here pass very agreeably. The opera here is magnificent enough, but the music bad. I was introduced to the Assembly of Madame d'Intendante; when I was there I could not but observe, in my thoughts, how much her apartments and furniture as well as her person were inferiour to those of my Lady Percival. The month I spent at Paris was not so entertaining as I hoped on account of the extreme sharpness of the weather, which however did not prevent my visiting the king's palaces and country seats &c., though it must be owned it spoilt my relish and made them appear worse than they would have done in a better season.

I had forgot to tell what seems odd to strangers, that the clergy game in these public assemblys. Play is the general humour of the French, and it runs high. Mr Oglethorpe, an ingenious English gentleman that goes with us to Sicily, lost fifty guineas last night at the Intendants. He and Col. Du Hamel and I set forward tomorrow morning for Turin, and thence to

¹ Received in London 16th March 17¹/₄. Answered 8th April.

Genoa, where we meet my Lord, who goes by sea from Toulon. For my own part I am glad of this opportunity of seeing Italy, though it be at the expence of passing the Alps in this rude season. I go armed with furred gloves, a furred bag to put my legs in, and the like necessaries to withstand the prodigious cold we must expect in this journey, which has already pretty well hardened my constitution.

I will not congratulate with you, but with your country, that has you for its representative in Parliament. I am sure it were to be wished there were many such representatives at this time when the parties there run so high, and are so much incensed against each other, though (God knows) at bottom for little reason, and to no other purpose than to hurt their country. I have only time to add my humble respects to my Lady and Mrs Parker (perhaps now Mrs Domville, my Lady Poorscourt, or some other name) and remain,

D^r S^r, Yr most humb^e

& affect. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

GENOA, 4th Feb., N.S., 1714.

DEAR SIR,

I staid about a month at Paris, eight days at Lyons, and eleven at Turin, and I have been now almost three weeks at Genoa. I writ to you from each of the fore mentioned places, but know not whether my letters came to your hands, being in some doubt that the posts are not yet regulated, between France and England. This makes my letter shorter

than otherwise it would be; for I have a thousand things to tell you of my travels by sea and land, by coach, horse, boat chaise, and in all kind of companies. I have not seen any town that pleased me more than this. The churches, palaces, and indeed the ordinary houses are very magnificent. It has nevertheless one fault, that the streets are generally very narrow, but I should not pretend to describe it to you, believing you have been here yourself.

I made it my business to visit the colleges, libraries, booksellers' shops, both at Turin and here, but do not find that learning flourishes among them. Nothing curious in the sciences has of late been published in Italy. Their clergy for the most part are extremely ignorant; as an instance of it, they shewed me in the library of the Franciscans in this town a Hebrew book, taking it to be an English one.

My Lord Peterborough joined us here, about a week since. He came by water from Toulon. He is a man of excellent parts, and frank cheerful conversation. We are to set out to-day in a felucca for Leghorn, where we are to embark for Sicily in two Maltese vessels, the man of war and yacht with my Lord's equipage not being yet arrived.

I reckon it is now time that I congratulate you and my Lady on the birth of a new son, and Mrs Parker on her marriage. I long to hear some news from your fireside and am with the truest respect to those that sit about it,

D^r S^r,

Your most obed^t

& affec^t Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LEGHORN, 19th Feb., N.S., 17¹³/₁₄¹.

DEAR SIR,

Ireland is certainly one of the finest countries and Dublin one of the finest cities in the world; the further I go, the more I am convinced of this truth. But if you have the advantage of these countries in point of plenty, government, and religion, it must be owned you fall infinitely short of them, in respect of concord, and unanimity. By nature and constitution you should be happy, but faction and jealousy make you miserable in spite of both. These reflections are occasioned by my seeing the newspapers filled with an account of the dissensions at present reigning between the citizens, lords, commons, and clergy of Ireland. I now fancy that your estate is converted into a ship filled with all necessaries for the voyage to Mascarenes, and that you and our friends of that party are on the point of embarking. I beg you will turn aside to the left and take me up at Leghorn, though if I were not afraid of diverting you from such an agreeable project, I could assure you that the French nation is so impoverished and dispeopled by the war, that we need not entertain any apprehensions of having a Pretender imposed upon us by their power. I speak this of my own knowledge having passed through the heart of France, and been an eyewitness of its misery.

I shall not pretend to give you my description of Italy, who knows it so much better than myself. There is nothing in it that pleases me more than the clear sky and warm weather so universal with us in this season. This town is the neatest and most regular that I have seen in Italy. It is very populous and a place of great trade. There are several English

¹ Answered 29th June. P.

families of merchants, who are very rich and live at a much greater rate than the Italian nobility.

My Lord Ambassador, who is a man of excellent parts and good humour, not thinking fit to wait the arrival of his equipage, which is coming by sea from London, parted from hence about ten days since on board a Maltese vessel bound to Palermo, where he designs to stay but a short time, and put off his public entry till his return. He has taken with him but two or three servants, and left orders for my diet and lodging here with his secretary, and some others of his retinue. The secretary is an Italian and a very good-natured gentleman, as well as a man of sense. There are already no less than nine different nations among my Lord's domestics. This gives me a good opportunity of improving myself in French and Italian. They are very civil to me, and in that respect make me as easy as I hope to be in any company besides those who used to rejoice my heart in Dublin.

A thought comes into my head that the restless state of affairs at home may put you (like Atticus) upon seeking repose in Italy, till the storm is overblown. This climate I am sure would contribute very much to your health as well as to that of my Lady and the children. Though in this suggestion I know I consult my own satisfaction more than the public interests. I shall probably stay a considerable time in this town or hereabouts, and should be overjoyed to hear you were on this side the Alps. I writ to you when I was at Paris, at Lyons, at Turin, and at Genoa, at each of which places I made a considerable stay. I long to see a line from you. When you do me that favour pray be particular, and rather with respect to domestic than public affairs. I can read in the Gazette that the Bishop of Raphoe is made Primate, and the Lord Chancellor under the displeasure of the Commons; but it says nothing of my Lady's health, your son's learning, your daughter's beauty, Mrs Parker's being married, Mrs Dering's being recovered of the gout,

or Mrs Percival's breeding, or Mr Dering's getting a good employment. If you send your letter to the Secretary's office in London to be enclosed in my Lord Peterborough's packet, or (in case there be a ship coming from Dublin to Leghorn) direct it for me, to be left at the English consul's here, it will come to my hands.

I am, S^r,

Yr most hum^{le} & affec^t Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 8th April, 1714.

Since I came hither I received both your letters from Lyons and Genoa, and am sincerely glad to hear that travelling agrees with your inclinations and health. The instances you give me of the effects of tyranny in France and popery in Italy are so very extraordinary that I cannot but cry out with Cato: O Liberty! O my country! and add, O happy Englishmen, who may own without offence to God or man, that princes and priests are like men with themselves. What is more deplorable than to see a prince reduce even the minds of his subjects to such a degree of slavery, that they shall affect by a sort of impious wit to pay devotion with their flattery, and raise their king to a god, by making processions before his statue. What more unhappy than that a people should leave that important affair, the salvation of their souls, to the guidance of a man, who to support his pretensions to infallibility, makes fools of mankind, and deprives them of the chiefest happiness a reasonable creature can aspire to, free exercise of the understanding. Their shewing you at Genoa an Hebrew for an

English book, is of a piece with another instance which I was witness of at Bologna, where in a gallery belonging to a convent (I think of Austin Friars) one of their Order shewed me the head of Fryar Bacon, who, said he, was one of the most eminent reformers under Henry VIII.

Now to write you of my family, in a word, they are all well as far as I know, for I left the two girls in Ireland. Of news, I have only this to say, there is an outcry against the Ministry that they design to bring the Pretender in, and so great is the persuasion that due care has not been taken of the succession by law established, that peers and commons fall daily off. Lord Anglesea, Abington, Cartwright, a Bishop of York, and others have followed my Lord Nottingham's steps, and my Lord Treasurer cannot hold long the staff. The other day the Lords voted an address that by proclamation a price might be put on the Pretender's head, in case he ever set foot on her Majesty's dominions.

I am, &c.

J. PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

LEGHORN, 1st May, 1714.

D^r S^r,

Since my last to you dated from this town, I have had an opportunity of seeing Pisa, Lucca, Pistoria, Florence &c. But I have not seen anything that should make me desirous to live out of England or Ireland. The descriptions that we find in the Latin poets make me expect Elysian fields and the golden age in Italy. But in my opinion England is a more poetical country, the spring there is forwarder and

lasts longer, purling streams are more numerous, and the fields and groves have a cheerfuller green, the only advantage here, is, in point of air, which as you know is warmer and dryer than with us, though I doubt whether it be generally more wholesome.

There is here together in a family about a dozen of my Lord's domestics, among whom is the secretary (an Italian) and myself. Last week I received a letter from my Lord, dated at Palermo. He talks of coming soon to Leghorn. We have so long waited the vessel that brings the coaches and equipage, that (though it be now arrived here) yet I doubt whether we shall have a public entry in Sicily. As my Lord is Plenipotentiary to all the Courts in Italy, I know not whither we shall go next. I wish it may be home-wards. I have already seen enough to be satisfied, that England has the most learning, the most riches, the best government, the best people, and the best religion in the world. Amongst two thousand clergymen that are reckoned in this town, I do not hear of any one man of letters worth making an acquaintance with. The people here are much dissatisfied with the hard government of the Grand Duke. The family of the Medici is now on the point of being extinct, and they know not to whom they shall be next a prey. But in that matter they are easy, being sure they cannot fall into worse hands.

This letter I suppose will find you at London, where I hope to see you together with my Lady, and Mrs Parker, to whom pray give my humblest respects.

I am, S^r,

Yr most humble

& most obed. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*PARIS, 13th July, 1714.Dr S^r,

I am just come from Mr Southwell, who told me the joyful news of your being in London and my Lady being delivered of a son. As I have a sensible pleasure in all your good fortune I could not defer congratulating with you on that happy event till my seeing you, which I hope will be very soon. Nothing could have pleased me more than the hearing of your family's being in London, with a purpose of continuing there twelve months. I am sure it will be a strong motive for doing so too. I parted with my Lord Peterborough at Genoa, where I embarked with Mr Molesworth the late envoy at Florence, and the Col. his brother, and have had a very pleasant journey in their company to Paris, where I came about three days ago. My Lord took post for Turin, and thence designed passing over the Alps and so through Savoy and France in his way to England.

I have here met with an Irish gentleman of my acquaintance who designs returning to England through Flanders and Holland: being glad of an opportunity to see those countries, I have taken a place in the Brussels' coach with him. We are to set out next week.

I know not whether you received my letters from Paris, Lyons, Turin, Genoa, Leghorn, Florence, last month. I received one of yours dated in Nov^r last, being then in Italy, whence I answered it. I shall trouble you with no more at present, but with my humble respects to my Lady and Mrs Parker,

I am, Dr S^r,Y^r most humb^{le}& affec^t Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, 6th July, 1715.

MY LORD,

I am in hopes that this letter will find your Lordship and my Lady safe arrived in Dublin. Things have been pretty much at a stand here since your departure. This by many is imputed to the difficulty which the Duke of Shrewsbury's¹ case gave the impeaching party. If this be all, the difficulty is now over, that peer being displaced from his office of Lord Chamberlain, which speaks him deserted by the Court. It had indeed been hard that a person who was deep in the late measures, and concluded the peace with France, should be employed and favoured at Court, whilst others against whom nothing appears lie under a disgrace, e.g. Lord Peterborough.

I promised your Lordship some Tory news, not doubting but that you are sufficiently furnished with Whig reports by other hands. But the truth is I hear little news at present to be depended on. People speak uncertainly, and seem to be in a suspense. As to my own opinion, men seem tired of baiting one another, the spirit of party begins to cool among us, and in a little time there is hopes we may be a quiet and united people. I am persuaded a little address at this juncture might make the Tories all what they ought to be, true friends to the King, which would put an end to our fears, but this advice must come from cooler heads than those who advise infringing Charters of Universities for the extravagances and crimes of a few young lads. I need not tell you what I hint at. You know what hath passed with regard to our University better than myself. All I can say is that the thing is represented here much to the disadvantage

¹ [Duke of Shrewsbury (1660—1718) of whom Swift says the 'finest gentleman we have.']

of the Court, and I am credibly informed that Oxford and Cambridge are both alarmed at it.

Of late I have had some symptoms of a return of my ague, but am now upon the point of going to Gloucestershire, for about a fortnight or three weeks, which will I hope entirely cure me. Mrs Parker and Mr Phill are both, as I suppose you know, much better than when you left them. For the rest, all friends are as well as could be expected in your and my Lady's absence. For my own part I comfort myself with the thought that I shall see you soon there or here. In the meantime I am,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's

Most obedient and most

Obliged Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

FLAXLEY, *July 28th, 1715.*

MY LORD,

I have now spent about a fortnight in Gloucestershire in a very agreeable place, and with the most entertaining company that I know out of your family, and propose going to London next week. The news of that place I doubt not you are well informed of. But I may perhaps give you some account of riots in the neighbouring counties, Worcester, Stafford &c. the particulars whereof are not published in the papers. A servant of the Lady with whom I am, having gone to receive some money at Bromingham, gives a dismal relation of tumults there. He says

there have been twenty eight of the rioters slain. He saw seven of their bodies lying unburied in the fields. There are likewise eight of the principal Dissenters missed. He met in one squadron above five hundred rioters in a field. And says that being in the town of Bromingham he saw a man on horseback ride through the streets with a horn, which he publicly sounded to raise the mob, whereof four thousand immediately got together and joined him. They obliged the constable who at first came to seize the horseman to go with them and join in pulling down a meeting-house. Of a great number of meeting-houses there are now but three left standing in Worcestershire and Staffordshire. In a neighbouring town he says the Dissenters, who guarded the meeting-house with firearms, got one of the Tory mob, and upon his refusing to curse Dr Sacheverel they slit his mouth from ear to ear, and gave him other wounds of which he died, and that this hath terribly incensed the riotry and increased their numbers. That an eminent Presbyterian's son is now in gaol at Bromingham for having proffered sixty pounds to some fellows to pull down the meeting-house, and that a Dissenter assured him that he himself doubted these insurrections were at bottom set on foot and favoured by Whigs for a pretence to ruin the Tory party. Whether this be so or no, God knows. But I can tell you of my own knowledge that the mob of Gloucester would have pulled down the meeting-house there, if they had not been dissuaded by the principal Tories of that town, who use all possible methods to keep them quiet, as knowing these riots can in no wise advantage their cause. It is said there are above twenty thousand men of Bromingham and the parts adjacent ready to take arms against the Government if there was any one to head them. This falls out the more unluckily because of the vast number of firearms and all sorts of weapons which make the great trade of that town. It is the opinion of most people that the nation is ready to break out into a flame, and to do

the Tories justice (with whom I principally converse here) they express an honest detestation of these proceedings, as I hope I need not tell you I do myself. This with my humble respects to my Lady is all I shall trouble you with at this time.

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obed^t

& most obliged Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, Aug. 9th, 1715.

MY LORD,

I am now to thank your Lordship for the favour of two letters which I received since my coming to town. I will endeavour to return it by sending you an account of such news as is current here. Mr Kenedy, secretary to the Duke of Ormond, and Col. Butler, uncle to the Lord Ikerrin, were both seized at Dover as they were going to the Duke. They have been before the Council and are released from custody.

The High-gate cobbler was whipped on Thursday last, and notwithstanding the Act against riots, there was a mob of several thousands got together on the occasion, who threatened to pull the executioner to pieces in case he did not perform his office gently.

I hear my Lord Peterborough left the Kingdom on Friday last with the King's pass. I do not know the occasion, having had no discourse with his Lordship since my coming to town. On the same day articles of high treason and high crimes and high misdemeanors against the Duke of Ormond were exhibited and agreed to in the House of Commons. They are six in number,

in substance as follows : Acting against orders. Corresponding with the enemy. Not concurring in the siege of Quesnoy. Informing M. Villars what foreign troops withdrew with him. Advising the Queen to disappoint the Dutch in their design on Newport and Furnes. Imposing on her Majesty by a double letter to Lord Bolingbroke. I was in the house during part of the debate. General Lumley made a long speech in defence of the Duke, shewed that what he did was pursuant to orders, and that had it been his own case, he would have followed the same measures. Mr Spencer Cooper in answer alleged that the orders were not valid, as not having been signed by the Queen, and added that if Lumley had done the same things he should have met with the same fate. Mr Bromley spoke much in honour of his Grace, and in the close of his speech said that the Duke's noble qualities had endeared him to all the nation, except those who envied him the having those qualities which they themselves wanted. He was answered with great warmth by Lord Coningsby. Those who spoke against the Duke insisted on his flight into France, upon which the speaker interposed saying that was a point that did not appear to the house and which they were not to take notice of. Mr Bromley added that flight was no certain argument of guilt, and instanced Lord Clarendon and the Earl of Danby, who formerly withdrew themselves (as he said), not out of guilt but from the violence of the times. Several others spoke, but some Lord appearing in the gallery we were all ordered to withdraw. Upon the division on the first article, the Tories left the house.

The reason assigned for the Duke of Montrose's laying down is that the Duke of Argyle got himself made Lord Lieutenant of that shire where his interest and estate lay. It is said Lord Ilay will succeed him. Lord Oxford continues very ill in the tower. I have it from a good hand that the court have discovered an association amongst several great men here to bring over the Pretender. It is talked too that the French

king is to dismiss all the Scotch and Irish forces in his service, and to give them six months pay as a reward for past service. And that one Fitzgerald an Irish merchant at St Malo's will furnish four men of war at his own charges. A little time will shew what there is in these reports.

What your Lordship observes that the clergy should open their mouths as well as eyes is certainly very just. For my part I think it my duty to disclaim perjury and rebellion on all occasions. Nothing surely can give a deeper wound to the church than that her pretended sons should be guilty of such foul practices. What advantage some great men here out of employ may purpose from the Pretender's coming among us, they best know ; but it is inconceivable what shadow of an advantage an Irish Protestant can fancy to himself from such a revolution.

I cannot well leave this country for Ireland before next month, when I hope to find you there. I cannot imagine why they should murmur at my absence in the College, considering all the persons absent. I am the only one who has the royal authority to be so. Not to mention that I am no Senior Fellow, nor consequently concerned in the material part of governing the College.

The other day when I saw the children they were very well, except Philly who is much worn away. Mr Bligh lost his son last Saturday.

My humble respects to my Lady. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient humb.

Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, *August 18th, 1715.*

MY LORD,

This is to inform you of two remarkable pieces of news that I heard this day. The French King¹ is either dead or at least past hopes of recovery, of which an express from Lord Stairs has brought advice this morning, gangrene having begun in the leg and thigh of that Prince. What I am further to tell you is that the rumour of the Pretender's invasion is revived and credited more than ever. And indeed it does not seem improbable that the Anjou-faction in France should incline to give England a diversion at this juncture to prevent their assisting the Duke of Orleans in his claim to the Regency. My Lord Mar's, S^r William Wyndham's, S^r Thomas Hanmer's and several others withdrawing into the country seems to strengthen the suspicion. At least I know it strengthens the hopes of the only Jacobite I am acquainted with here.

If this news prove true, and the Tories openly engage in the attempt, I shall think them guilty of as barefaced perjury and dishonesty as ever could be imputed to any set of men.

I am very sorry to hear of my Lady's illness. I hope it is only what owes it original to you. The most comfortable prospect I have in Ireland is that I shall find her Ladyship and you there.

I am,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's mostaffect. humble Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

¹ [Louis XIV died on the 1st of September, 1715.]

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, *September 8th*, 1715.

MY LORD,

I agree with your Lordship that there never was a more important juncture, or that justified a curiosity after news more than the present. It was my province to inform you what the Tories say. For Whig news, I doubt not, you have enough from other hands. They say then that Col. Paul, who you must have heard is committed to Newgate, was always known to be a Whig, and consequently is innocent of what is laid to his charge. They add that the Serjeant, his accuser, is a noted villain, who suffered thirteen years imprisonment in Dublin on account of former crimes, and so not to be depended on. But notwithstanding all this, the discovery of many others engaged in the same black design makes me think him guilty, which seems more probable because I am assured he is a silly man, and one likely to be prevailed on by the hopes of commanding the second battalion of guards, which is said was promised him by the Pretender. There could not certainly have been a more subtle and mischievous project set on foot by the Jacobites, and I doubt it has spread further than is commonly imagined: I mean tampering with the soldiers and new levies. This occasions my calling to mind what I observed about a fortnight ago. As I walked through St James's park, there was an odd looking fellow in close conference with one of the sentinels. I heard him mention the words, *hereditary right*; and think the entire sentence was: *But sure you are for hereditary right*. I observe likewise that the few I suspect for Jacobites are not so dispirited or desperate, as the late accident of the French King's death and the succession of the Duke of Orleans in the Regency would incline one to think they should be. Add to this the general ferment in men's mind, the artifice with which it is kept up by those that wish ill to the present establishment, and the indiscretion of some of its well wishers, which

perhaps may no less contribute to the same effect, and our prospect must seem very dismal. I once little imagined that any considerable number of Church of England-men could be moved either by passion or interest to so wicked an undertaking as that must be which includes both rebellion and perjury. For my part I condemn both them and their practices.

The best of it is, that the vigilant measures taken at Court and the perfect seeming good disposition of France gives hopes that any impious design to embroil the nation may be soon defeated and turned on the heads of the contrivers. There is now a strict inquiry making into the characters of all persons in the army, private men as well as officers. And tomorrow the Duke of Argyle, Duke of Roxburgh, and Lord Sutherland are to set out for Scotland. There must have been some pressing reason for this, it having been much against the inclination and endeavours of the Duke of Argyle. The Bishop of Bristol assured me the other day that the Court expect the Duke of Orleans would, in case of need, supply them with forces against the Pretender. And I myself have seen two letters, one from the Duke Regent, the other from the new King of France to the Prince of Wales, containing assurance of friendship and affection.

I reckon it is no news to tell you the two pretty children are well and grow every day more like their mother and father, that is more pretty and wise. Mrs Parker is well. Mr Dering goes this day to meet his mother at Chester.

Argyle and Sutherland set out today.

I am,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most

humble and most

affec^t Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, *September 22nd*, 1715.

MY LORD,

We are in a very ill condition, the rage and resentment of the Tories having at length broke out into an open flame. You are I doubt not already well informed of this. Be pleased however to take things as I hear them. The Rebellion in Scotland is differently represented as to the force and number of the rebels. Some reckon twenty eight thousand, others seventeen thousand, and others ten thousand. The last account came three days ago by an express from the Duke of Argyle, who complains much of the disparity of numbers, having only fifteen hundred to oppose ten thousand that were then come within thirty miles of Edinburgh, and designed proclaiming the Pretender at Dundee, yesterday was sennight. The Duke was then in suspense whether he should retire towards Berwick, or intrench near Stirling. The unhappy misunderstanding between our Courtiers, particularly the Duke of Marlborough and Argyle, prevents the Court from forming any resolute judgment on these informations, many being of an opinion that Argyle magnifies the force of the rebels with a design to oppose and distress the Duke of Marlborough, who is they say of a humour inclined to starve any service wherein he is not employed himself. On the other hand other well wishers of the King are afraid the Duke of Marlborough's jealousy might make him propose such measures as may destroy the Duke of Argyle. Thus as in most other cases the public is neglected while ministers pursue and indulge their private piques and passions.

This account you may depend on for I had it from a very good hand who knows the Court, and whose interest and inclinations engage him to be heartily zealous for the King's safety. We are informed that the rebels increase daily, that they have seized and plundered the custom house of Leith, and that they

have taken three companies of the King's forces, the major part whereof have listed under them. They have with them the Generals Dillon and Hamilton, and some say the Duke of Berwick. Expresses come to Court thick one upon another, and their being kept secret makes one suspect they bring no good news. But the worst sign of all is the cheerful insolent behaviour of the Jacobites, and the downcast melancholy looks of the Loyal party, which last was very observable yesterday in the House of Commons. It is not doubted that the rebels will march directly into England, and then it is very much feared that there will be a general insurrection in all parts of the land. It is this general bent of the people towards Jacobitism, that occasions the raising of so few forces at home, which might prove to be raising the King's enemies. However, this is certain, that Brigadier Preston is sent into Holland to demand the ten thousand soldiers which they were to furnish by the Barrier treaty, and they talk here of listing several thousand French refugees under Lord Galloway. Yesterday the Lords Landsdowne and Duplin were seized here; Lord Jersey was likewise sought for, but made his escape. There are warrants said to be issued for the seizing twenty Lords more, and six Commoners.

I wish your Lordship, my Lady and a dozen more friends safe at Mascarenes out of this corrupt part of the world, where the resentment, the perjury, and breach of faith of one side, and the private piques and interested views of the other, are in a fair way of ruining our King and country, if Providence does not interpose in a manner we nowise deserve. It is believed the Pretender is in England.

I am, My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most

Obedt and affect.

humble Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, 26th Sept. 1715.

MY LORD,

My last, according to the intelligence I then had, gave you a dismal prospect of our affairs. This is to make amends by assuring you there is ground to hope that all the bloodshed and desolation which then threatened us will be prevented by the discovery the Court has made of the persons and designs of the conspirators.

Mr Harvey of Combe, a man of 7000 pounds a year, has been taken up and examined before a Committee of Council. At first he spoke resolutely and denied all that he was charged with, but upon Lord Townshend's producing his own handwriting he was struck dumb, and being sent away in custody of a messenger he soon after stabbed himself with a penknife in three places. I hear that Lord Nottingham, his uncle, was with him today, and that he seemed desirous to live, but it is thought, if he be not dead already, that he will soon die of his wounds.

You have heard that Sir William Wyndham made his escape out of the hands of a messenger ; there is a report about town that he is again taken, but I do not find it gains credit. It was rumoured likewise yesterday that a warrant was issued out to apprehend the Bishop of Rochester, but I hear nothing of it since. Lord Duplin is in the hands of a messenger. Lord Landowne is committed to the tower. Our great security is that the Duke of Orleans seems steady to the interest of the King, and that our last advices from Lord Stairs bring assurances of the Pretender's continuing still at Bar-le-duc.

For my part I see no hopes for him or his pretensions. His shyness in point of danger will sacrifice them, and their being sacrificed will discourage others

from rising in his favour. What better could be hoped from so wicked management; but the most lamentable evil is the great dishonour they have done to the Church and religion by public perjury and rebellion.

This is so clear and plain a case now, that no honest man can pretend to justify them.

It is very late and I have only time to say I am,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordsp's most

obed^t and affec^t

humble Servant,

GEO. BERKELEY.

My humble respects to my Lady. I suppose I need tell you Mrs Dering is recovered, and that Mrs Parker and the children are well.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, 20th October, 1715.

MY LORD,

I have but little inclination to write to your Lordship at present upon politics: the scene every day opening and discovering new cause to apprehend a popish power, and all the dismal consequences of it. You will therefore excuse me if I am backward to be the messenger of ill news. In a late letter to you I was of opinion we had no more to fear from the intended conspiracy. But things have since taken a different turn from what I then expected.

The rebellion in Northumberland is said to be two thousand men strong and daily increasing. It is not doubted that as many more have passed the Firth under General Hamilton. The Court indeed gives them out

to be a thousand only, but the other account is most credited. The Dutch forces, which I thought would set all things right, are not likely to be here until the game is over. It is at least certain that the Jacobites make a jest of them, saying, that if they do come, they will prejudice King George's affairs more than anything that has been done yet. Some say the Dutch have been threatened by the Duke of Ormond and a certain foreign count in case they furnish us with any forces. But whatever the cause is you may depend on it, they are not expected here by any body in a fortnight. I must own I cannot account for these dilatory proceedings. The seizing Lord Landsdowne and Sir William Wyndham has not given all the light I first imagined. Sir William, when he was asked by the Council whether he knew anything of an association, answered that he knew of no association but that of the whole nation against the present ministry, upon which he was sent to the tower, and this, I know not why, is resented by the old Duke of Somerset, his father-in-law. It is thought the Duke of Ormond is landed in Scotland. In a word the chief cause of my apprehensions is the pert confidence of the Jacobites, who are now more spirited than ever.

If my Lady and your Lordship continue thoughts of Mascarenes I will gladly become one of your subjects, for I assure you I ever did and ever shall abhor a Popish Government.

I thought to have seen you before now, but have been prevailed with some friends to stay here a little upon a prospect of something in England, so that I believe I shall see you here again.

I am,

Y^{rs} and my Lady's

Most obed^t and most

humble Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, 3rd November, 1715.

MY LORD,

There is a high Tory (which is now reckoned the same thing with a Jacobite) of my acquaintance, who used to serve me instead of a political weather glass. When his spirits were high I concluded our affairs went wrong, and the contrary when they were low. I never knew him so high in spirit as he was when I writ last to your Lordship; but since that time things are altered, and we have now reason to thank God that the enemies of our Constitution hang down their heads. Whatever I might have apprehended of late, at present I think their game desperate. Your Lordship will be of my mind when I tell you that the Duke of Ormond is gone back to France, after having lain one night ashore at one Cory's in Devonshire. My Lord Stairs has sent to Court a letter intercepted from him to the Pretender, wherein the Duke tells his pretended Majesty that he would embark and make his signal on the coast of England, which if answered he did not doubt being at the head of a body of his subjects able to do him justice, otherwise he would be himself the messenger of the ill news to his Majesty. In the same letter he exhorts the Pretender to be in a readiness to embark in case occasion should serve.

For the future I shall never be scared at the vauntings of a few fellows who have all the villany, without the sense or courage necessary to carry on a conspiracy. The forces under Lord Mar nobody doubts will languish and disperse in a little time. To do my Lord Peterborough justice, this was the opinion he always declared himself to have of the rebels and their project.

Dr Friend, who got the £2000 prize in the lottery,

is disposed to give up a living in the presentation of his Lordship. By what I hear he will resign it in a few months in which case it may be worth my acceptance. I wish your Lordship a good voyage and hope to see you here in less than a month. Two days ago I saw the children very well in the Pall Mall, as are Mrs Parker and Mr Dering.

I am,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obliged

& most humble and affect.

Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, 17th Nov. 1715.

MY LORD,

I wish your Lordship and my Lady Percival joy of the victory which his Majesty's forces have gained over the rebels in Preston, the particulars whereof the newspapers tell you. I hope this blow hath put an end to or prevented the calamities we had too much cause to apprehend from an obstinate and bloody civil war. The want of spirit and conduct in the rebels deserves our scorn, as much as the injustice of their cause and the mischiefs they were going to involve us in did our abhorrence. They seem to have been intimidated and struck from heaven, which, it is to be hoped, will speedily open the eyes of their accomplices, and teach them their own and the nation's true interest.

I reckon it none of the least misfortunes of these troublesome times, that books and literature seem to be forgotten, conversation being entirely turned from them to more disagreeable and less innocent topics. Even the most retired men and who are at the bottom of fortune's wheel are too much interested in our public broils to be attentive to other things. This makes me doubt your application to the classics hath been intermitted since your going to Ireland. If it hath not and you are at leisure, I would much rather correspond with you on the beauties of the Latin authors, than on the subject of news of which the public papers tell you all that is certain, and for other surmises they are hardly worth troubling. But of what do I talk, you have perhaps left Dublin already.

I wish you and my Lady a good voyage and long to see you safe in London.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obed^t and

most obliged Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, *May*, 1716.

MY LORD,

I am sorry to hear you pass the time so pleasantly at Bath. I am afraid it may keep you too long from us. However, I hope to see you before I go to Ireland, which is likely to be soon, the Prince having recommended me to succeed Charles

Carr in the Living of St Paul's, in Dublin. I suppose you have heard that Mr Carr is named to the Bishopric of Killaloe, that the Bishop of Killaloe is removed to Raphoe, and the Bishop of Raphoe¹ to the Archbishopric of Tuam. The letter from the Prince is enclosed and seconded by Mr Secretary Stanhope, so that I think it cannot fail of success. The living is reckoned to be worth about a hundred a year, but I put the greater value on it because it is consistent with my Fellowship.

We had yesterday a very remarkable piece of news. An express arrived at Court from Constantinople with proposals to the King to mediate a peace between the Turk and the Venetians. This falls out very unexpectedly, and gives some credit to the opinions of the Bishop of Worcester, and the rest of our expositors who judged it inconsistent with their scheme that the Grand Signior should carry his arms any farther westward.

I hope the waters agree well with my Lady, Mrs Parker, and the children. Pray give my humble service to them all.

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's

most obed^t and most

affect. humble Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, *May 26th*, 1716.

MY LORD,

If it be what your Lordship can properly do I beg the favour of you to write a letter next post to the Duke of Grafton, imparting your acquaintance with

¹ [Edward Synge, *supra*, p. 95.]

me, and your confidence of my being well affected to his Majesty's Government. Were it necessary I might produce several instances of this, as well as from my endeavours to serve the present establishment by writing, which are more than I care to mention, as from the offer I refused in the times of the late ministry. I make you this request because I have some reasons to think my competitors have wronged my character on the other side of the water. The government of Ireland have yet made no answer to the recommendation of the Prince and Secretary Stanhope, which if they refuse to comply with I am assured it will be taken very ill. I am likewise told that their not complying may prove an advantage to me. But be that as it will, I cannot but be solicitous to have my character cleared to the Lords Justices and others there, who are probably misled by the calumny of interested persons who are strangers to me.

This is all that I desire of your Lordship. As for recommending me, or desiring any favour for me from his hands, I ask no such thing, because I do not think I want it, having been so well recommended already.

Please to give my humble service to Lady Percival and Mrs Parker. I am glad to hear from your Lordship that they and the children are well, and hope to see you all in town next week.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient and most

affect. Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Percival to the Duke of Grafton.*BATH, 28th May, 1716.

MY LORD,

I understand your Grace and my Lord Galloway have been writ to by the Prince and Secretary Stanhope in favour of a very worthy gentleman and fellow of Trinity College, Mr Berkeley, that you would be pleased to present him to the living of St Paul's in Dublin when Mr Carr quits it. I cannot doubt but as his learning and character is unexceptionable your Grace has already entertained a favourable disposition towards him. But that you may have a better knowledge of him, and bestow your favour with greater pleasure, I take this opportunity to assure your Grace that I have had many years intimate acquaintance with him, and know him to be perfectly well affected to His Majesty's person and Government, in whose service he employed his pen. I know this besides, that he refused a considerable offer in the time of the late Ministry perhaps your Grace was not acquainted with before, but the esteem I have contracted for this gentleman obliged me to say thus much, and I shall myself be very happy if it contributes anything to your good opinion of him.

I am &c.

PERCIVAL.

*Ch. Dering to Percival.*DUBLIN, 1st June, 1716.

MY DEAREST LORD,

I received the favour of yours of the 19th yesterday, for which and for the enclosed I give you a great many thanks.

I am heartily glad that the Bath agrees with you and my Lady so well.

I did hear some time ago that Mr Berkeley was to succeed Charles Carr in his living of St Paul's, but I doubt he will not succeed, the Lords Justices having made a strong representation against him, and they say one Tirrel is to have that living.

It is very certain that there has been great disputes and divisions among the Whigs this session between the Court party and the country one, but the latter have not succeeded in any one thing they have attempted, but lost everything by a great majority. Yesterday they made an effort which I believe will be the last this session....

&c.

CHARLES DERING.

Berkeley to Percival.

TURIN, 24th Nov^r, 1716. N.S.

MY LORD,

I did not think it prudent to make reflections of the state of France while I was in the country, but now I am got out of it I may safely impart my mind to your Lordship and assure you that it is in a very bad condition: the Regent is generally disliked by the people, and his alliance with England has perhaps contributed to make him so as much as any other article of his conduct.

The French seemed to have recovered their tongues, and speak with a freedom unusual in the late King's reign. They scruple not to say the Duke hath done more mischief in two, than his predecessor in seventy years. They exclaim against the demolition of Mardye as a thing dishonourable to their nation; and against his recoinng their money as a project that has ruined them, and has cut off all correspondence with

foreigners who are sure to lose four livres in the pound on the present foot of exchange. This project, however, hath filled the Regent's coffers by robbing the subjects of a fourth part of the money.

I was assured there appeared a disposition in several, as well clergy as laity, to embrace the protestant communion.

We travel with all the ease and convenience possible. Mr Ashe is a modest, ingenious, well natured, young gentleman, whom the more I know the more I esteem, and we have unlimited letters of credit so that we want for nothing. I never thought I should pass Mount Cenis a second time in winter. But we have now passed in a worse condition than it was when I saw it before. It blew and snowed bitterly all the time. The snow almost blinded us and reached above the waists of the men who carried us. They let me fall six or seven times, and thrice on the brinks of horrid precipices, the snow having covered the path so that it was impossible to avoid making false steps. The porters assured us they never in their lives had passed the mountain in such an ill road and weather. However, blessed be God, we arrived safe at Turin two nights ago, and design to set out from hence towards Milan tomorrow.

I forgot to tell you that we saw two avalanches of snow (as the men called them) on the mountain: I mean hugh quantities of snow fallen from the side and tops of rocks, sufficient to have overwhelmed a regiment of men. They told us of fourteen, and about fifty mules that were some time since destroyed by an accident of that kind. I must not omit another adventure in Dauphine. A hugh dark coloured Alpine wolf ran across an open plain when our chaise was passing, when he came near as he turned about and made a stand with a very fierce and daring look, I instantly drew my sword and Mr Ashe fired his pistol. I did the same too, upon which the beast very calmly retired looking back ever and anon. We were

much mortified that he did not attack us and give us an opportunity of killing him.

The route we design to take is through Milan, Parma, Modena, Bologna, Florence, Siena, Rome &c., which will be a means of seeing the best part of the cities of Italy. We hear of banditti, rivers overflowed, mountains covered with snow, and the like difficulties in this winter expedition, but our resolution is fixed.

Whatever becomes of me and wherever I am you may assure yourself I shall always be most sincerely,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obliged

and most affect. humble Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

My humble service to the ladies.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 11th December, 1716.

D^r S^r,

Your letter from Turin is very pleasing to me as it assures me of your having safely passed through many dangers and that you find yourself in heart and ability to encounter what yet remains before your arrival at the wished for resting place. There is something resembling between your unpleasant and painful journey and a deathbed sickness, which, though in itself uncomfortable and terrible, is yet cheerfully supported by men of your fortitude, for the prospect of that happy region to which it leads, and which restores men to their original innocence, as Naples will I hope Mr Ashe to his health.

The account you gave me of the misery and discontents in France is confirmed by many that come from thence. An instance of the ill state of their commerce is the high exchange from my part of Ireland to this place, which I have known at 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ at this time of year, and now is 10 per cent.

We have had a violent hard frost this week past, which prevents us from Holland mails, but I hope it will not continue so long as to hinder the King's return by the sitting of Parliament, which is to be the 8th of next month.

'Tis so lately that you left us I have little to write you of public matters. I believe you will meet the public prints when this letter finds you, and they contain all that is material to know, besides you are now I guess in Naples, where the climate, prospects, villas, antiquities, and variety of liberal entertainments, will render you very little inquisitive after news, and ought to engross all your moments during absence which I hope will be but short. I believe therefore I shall please you much better if, setting public matters aside, I confine myself to let you know that all your friends here are well, and especially my small family who desire to be remembered to you, and that I am with all truth

Y^r affect. friend and hum. Serv^t,

PERCIVAL.

My hum. service to Mr Ashe.

Berkeley to Percival.

ROME, 1st March, 17¹⁶/₁₇.

MY LORD,

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I hear my Lady hath been safely delivered of a daughter. I wish you and her Ladyship joy of this happy event, and hope it may facilitate your projected journey into

these parts this summer. I can give you no temptations to effect this design so long talked of, but what you know by your own experience better than I can possibly describe them to you. The climate, the music, the pictures, the palaces &c. are things so enchanting that I am afraid if my Lady sees them she will be more backward to return than ever she was to come abroad.

Though I would not pretend to inform you of anything to be seen in Italy, yet a picture in the gallery of the Duke of Parma, at Parma, may possibly have escaped your observation. I mean the original of your Danae, which is esteemed one of the finest pieces that ever Titian did. We have staid at Rome much longer than we intended, being constrained partly by the extreme rigour of the season for about three weeks together, and since that by the illness of our valet de chambre. As soon as ever he can travel we design for Naples where I long to be. I have got eyes but no ears. I would say that I am a judge of painting though not of music. Cardinal Ottoboni has let off his entertainments, and Prince Rospoli is the man who now gives music every week to strangers, where I am sure to fall asleep as constantly as I go. Perhaps when I reach Naples I may be able to tell you of something you have not seen.

In the meantime give me leave to inform you of a piece of secret history that I learned the other night from one who I doubt not knew the truth, and I have reason to think told it me. In England there are now seven hundred clergymen in all of the Church of Rome, of which one hundred Jesuits, three hundred priests, and the rest friars of several orders. In Wales there are 50 clergy, in the west 10, in the north 200. In London and the environs 150, of which in London 20 Jesuits, 12 Benedictines, 5 Capuchins, 3 Carmelites. The Jesuits have at least £8000 a year terra firma in England (some say £30000). The secular priests have £3000 per annum. The number of Papists in England is 70000.

Pray give my humble service to my Lady, Mrs Parker, Mrs Dering (whose health I should gladly be informed of), Mrs Minshull and Mr Dering, with the rest of those friends who are so good as to remember me.

I am, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

obliged and most

humble Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

NAPLES, 6th April, 1717.

MY LORD,

I know not whether I ought to reckon it to your good or ill fortune that when you were abroad you missed seeing the Kingdom of Naples. This in itself one of the worst accidents and disappointments of your life may become by prudent management a great piece of good fortune to you and your whole family. I mean, in case it should be the occasion of your wisely resolving to visit again the regions on this side the Alps, and bring them with you. Your Lordship hath many motives of pleasure to invite you to home; but I have now solid reasons for bringing you further southward. The health of all that is most dear to you, my Lady and the pretty children, and yourself depend on it. The air of this happy part of the world is soft and delightful beyond conception, being perfumed with myrtle shrubs and orange groves, that are everywhere scattered throughout the country; the sky almost constantly serene and blue; the heat tempered to a just warmth by refreshing breezes from the sea.

Nor will this serene and warmth of the climate have a better effect on the spirits, than the balsamine particles of sulphur which you breathe with the common air will have on your blood, correcting those sharp scorbutic humours that molest the inhabitants of these bleak islands. If enchanting prospects be a temptation, surely there are not more and finer anywhere than here, rude mountains, fruitful hills, shady vales, and green plains, with all the variety of sea as well as land. Prospects are the natural ornaments of this Kingdom. *Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis praelucet amoenis*¹ was the opinion of one who had a very good taste. It would fill a volume to describe the wonders of nature and antiquity that adorn that whole coast. Every hill, rock, promontory, creek, and island, is sung by Homer and Virgil, and renowned as well for having been the scene of the travels of Ulysses and Aeneas as for having been the delicious retreat of all the great men among the Romans, whenever they with-drew from the fatigue of public affairs. The Campania felecie is a different scene; but surely nothing can be more beautiful than the wild Apennine on one hand and the boundless plain without enclosures on the other covered with a most delightful verdure and crowned with fruit trees scattered so thinly as not to hinder the prospect of the wide-extended green fields. Here grew the famous Falernian wine, and in the same plain stands the once famous city of Capua whose pleasures were destructive to Hannibal. To describe the antiquities and natural curiosities of these places would perhaps seem tedious to you, and I would not forestall the pleasure you will take in seeing them yourself.

It may be perhaps a more prevailing tune with my Lady, the informing you that there is here a very numerous nobility, who think of nothing but how to amuse themselves agreeably, and are very civil in admitting strangers to share with them in their entertainments of music and refreshments, though to say the

¹ [Horace, *Epistles*, I. I. 83.]

truth they are not the politest people in the world. Today I had the honour to dine with three Princes, besides half a dozen Counts and Dukes, the first nobility in the land, and I assure you it was not without some surprise that I found myself to be one of the politest persons at table. You will believe me disinterested and sincere in what I have said, when I tell you that I cannot propose to myself the happiness of seeing you here during my own stay in this country.

My humblest respects to my Lady, Mrs Parker and the rest of our friends.

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's

Most obed^t humble Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

NAPLES, *June 18th*, 1717.

MY LORD,

I am lately returned from a tour through the most remote and unknown parts of Italy.

The celebrated cities your Lordship is perfectly acquainted with. But perhaps it may be new to you to hear that the most beautiful city in Italy lies in a remote corner of the heel. Lecce (the ancient Aletium) is the most luxuriant in all ornaments of architecture of any town that I have seen. The meanest houses are built of hewn stone, have ornamented doors, rustics. Doric, Corinthian, are ornaments about the windows, and balustrades of stone. I have not in all Italy seen so fine convents. The general fault is they run into a superfluity of ornaments. The most predominant are the Corinthian, which order is much affected by the

inhabitants, being used in the gates of their city, which are extremely beautiful.

The town being inland and consequently without trade hath not above 16000 inhabitants. They are a civil polite people, and seem to have among them some remains of the delicacy of the Greeks who of old inhabited these parts of Italy.

You know that in most cities of Italy the palaces indeed are fine, but the ordinary houses of an indifferent gusto. 'Tis so even in Rome, whereas in Lecce there is a general good *gout*, which descends down to the poorest houses. I saw many other remarkable towns, amongst the rest five fair cities in one day, the most part built of white marble, whereof the names are not known to Englishmen. The season of the year (which was much more moderate than I expected) together with the various beautiful landscapes throughout Apulia, Peucetia, and the old Calabria, made this journey very agreeable. Nor should I pass over the antiquities that we saw in Brundisium, Tarentum, Venusia (where Horace was born), Cannae famous for the great victory obtained by Hannibal, and many other places, in all which we were stared at like men dropt from the sky, and sometimes followed by a numerous crowd of citizens, who out of curiosity attended us through the streets. The fear of bandits which hinders strangers from visiting these curiosities is a mere bugbear.

Upon my return to Naples I found Vesuvius in a terrible fit which is not yet over.

I beg your Lordship to let me know what way you, my Lady, and Mrs Parker design to take, that I may continue to meet you in our return. My humble service to them.

I am,

Yr Lordship's most obed^t Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

TESTACCIO IN THE ISLAND INORINE,
1 September N.S. 1717.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's letter found me very ill in the Island Inorine, a remote corner of the world where we have now spent three months. When we go to Naples or Rome I shall make it my business to provide the prints &c., there being nothing more agreeable to me than your Lordship's commands. My illness, a flux, after about six weeks continuance, hath now quite left me, and in a better state of health than it found me. I am thank God very well.

Though your Lordship is well acquainted with other parts of Italy perhaps you may be a stranger to the Island Inorine (now vulgarly called Ischia). It is situate about six leagues from the city of Naples to the southwest: about eighteen miles in circuit, containing sixteen thousand souls, the air temperate and wholesome, the soil extremely fertile. Apples, pears, plums, and cherries, are not worth the naming, besides apricots, peaches, almonds, figs, pomegranates, and many other fruits that have no English names, together with vines, wheat, and Indian corn, cover almost every spot in the Island. The fruit lying everywhere exposed without enclosures makes the country look like one great fruit garden, except some parks which are covered with chestnut groves and others that produce nothing but thickets of myrtle. Nothing can be conceived more romantic than the forces of nature, mountains, hills, vales, and little plains, being thrown together in a wild and beautiful variety. The hills are most of them covered to the top with vines, of which you will believe there is a prodigious abundance in the Island, when I assure you there are no less than sixty thousand hogsheads of wine made every year in so small a spot. Here are also mountains very high, having towns and

villages on their sides placed in steep situations one above another, and making a very odd prospect. And though the roads among the hills are often steep and unequal, yet the asses of the Island (the only *voiture* used here) carry us everywhere without danger. We have two considerable towns or cities, one of which contains six thousand souls: the rest are villages. The houses are real and lasting, being everywhere built of lime and stone, flat roofed.

As riches and honours have no footing here, the people are unacquainted with the vices that attend them, but in lieu thereof they have got an ugly habit of murdering one another for trifles. The second night after our coming to the Island a youth of 18 years was shot dead by our door; but we have had several instances of the like since that in several parts of the Island. Last year thirty six murders were compounded for by the Governour; the life of man being rated at ten ducats.

In old times Inorine was inhabited by a Grecian colony from the Euboea. And Hiero, King of Syracuse, resided here some years, but the volcanoes and eruptions of fire in several parts of the Island obliged the ancient inhabitants to quit it. We see the remains of these eruptions in many places, which gave occasion to the poets feigning that Typhoeus lay under it:

Inorine Jovis imperiis inposta Typhoeo.

Virg. *Aen.* ix. 716.

My humble service to my Lady, Mrs Parker, Miss Kitty, Master Johnny, the little stranger, Mrs Dering, Miss Minshull, Dan. Dering, Ch. Dering, the two Mr Shutes, Sir David, &c. I writ a long letter to Dan. Dering but never had an answer. Mr Ashe gives his humble service to your Lordship.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most
obliged &c.,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*ROME, 26th April, 1718.

MY LORD,

Upon my arrival here I had the good fortune to meet with Mr Hamilton who brought me a letter from your Lordship, which was very agreeable as everything is that assures me of the welfare of your family. Among the many obligations I have to your Lordship I must reckon your making me acquainted with a gentleman of Mr Hamilton's merit. I gave him a recommendation to some friends of mine in Naples where he intends to make a short stay, and upon his return I hope to enjoy more of his company.

It would I believe be no news to your Lordship to give you an account of the functions of the Holy Week, which has drawn a great confluence of strangers from all parts of Europe, particularly several of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain, enough to fill two coffee houses. The well affected part meet at that in Piazza d'Espagna; and the rebels have another part to themselves. Among the latter are the Lords Mar, Southesk &c. Methinks it is no ill sign to see them loiter about town as if they had nothing to do. Though it must be owned, men of good sense, understanding, and friends to King George, are in these parts alarmed with apprehensions more from divisions at home than from any power or foreign foes. Your Lordship hath seen too much of Italy not to know that every indifferent man who travels must be heartily concerned at any accident that should seem to make way for introducing among us, that sort of government and religion that hath made the inhabitants of these parts the greatest fools and slaves from the wisest and bravest men in the world. But I hope the breach is not so wide, nor the consequences likely to prove so fatal, as is commonly feared or imagined at this distance.

During the functions of the Holy Week and the

Easter holidays it was impossible to look out for prints or books ; but my next shall bring your Lordship an account of what I have procured for you, in which I hope my gusto will shew itself somewhat improved since coming abroad.

I must beg your Lordship to give my humblest respects to my Lady, Mrs Parker, the children, and all friends who are so kind as to remember me, and to believe, that I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obed^t and

most humble Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

The general talk here is of a peace between the Emperour and King Philip.

Berkeley to Percival.

ROME, 28th July, 1718.

MY LORD,

My last to your Lordship I have some suspicion might not have come to your hands, but having now got a correspondent at Leghorn to forward our letters I am in hopes this will. Upon the ill news of my Lord Bishop's death we were resolved to go directly homewards, but a few days after Mr Ashe received letters from his friends with directions to continue longer this side the Alps, which together with the extreme heats that render travelling insupportable hath determined us to stay some months longer at Rome, where we have at present about thirty English gentlemen and noblemen, most of them men of good sense and very

sober. This makes the *sejour* as agreeable as it is possible to be out of England, whither I long for liberty to return on many accounts, particularly that I may have a part in the contrivance of the house you design to build this winter, for you must know I pretend to an uncommon skill in architecture, as you will easily imagine when I assure your Lordship there is not any one modern building in Rome that pleases me, except the wings of the capitol built by Michael Angelo and the colonnade of Berninies before St Peter's. The Church itself I find a thousand faults with, as indeed with every other modern Church here. I forget the little round one in the place where St Peter was beheaded built by Bramante, which is very pretty and built like an ancient temple. This gusto of mine is formed on the remains of antiquity that I have met with in my travels, particularly in Sicily, which convince me that the old Romans were inferior to the Greeks, and that the moderns fall infinitely short of both in the grandeur and simplicity of taste.

I have bought for your Lordship prints of the Churches, palaces, and statues of Rome, a great number. I had likewise bought those of the Colonne Trajane and Antonina, which in many large sheets display the Roman antiquity, but shewing them to a judicious friend here who informed me that the plates are much worn out, and very coarsely retouched, which had spoiled the prints, I returned them. The rest are sent on board an English ship, safe packed up with some things of Mr Ashe's, with directions to lie at the custom house in London till our return.

As for books there is no sort of learning flourishes here but civil and canon law. Not but there is enough too of divinity and poetry, but so very bad that I can meet with nothing in either kind worth buying. The truth is the Italians of the last and present age are not worth importing into England. Those of the golden age of Pope Leo the tenth are scarce, and very hard to be met with. But those I presume you are already

provided with. However, if there be any particular authors or editions that you want, please to let me know, and when I come to Padua or Venice, I shall make it my business to enquire for them.

I have had several letters from Lord Pembroke with directions to enquire for about thirty books, of which I have not in a years time with my utmost diligence been able to procure above three. If at Venice which is the great mart for books I meet with anything new worth buying, I intend to purchase it for your Lordship. As to old authors I would gladly know which you want, that I might not buy those you have already.

Your Lordship's letter under cover to George Ashe Esq., and directed to Messrs Bates Campion and Mitchel at Leghorn, will at any time come safe to me, and can never bring any news more agreeable than that of the welfare of yourself and family.

My best respects to my Lady and Mrs Parker and the rest of those who remember me, particularly Mrs Dering. I beg your Lordship to believe me,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

obed^t and most obliged

Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

ROME, 13th November, 1718.

MY LORD,

I know not by what accident the letter your Lordship favoured me with from Paris came to my hands, being enclosed in a cover to Mr S^t George instead of Mr Ashe. My surprise to hear your Lordship and the Ladies were at Paris was attended with

no small mortification to think I should miss the happiness of seeing you there.

The Pretender is hourly expected in this city where he designs to make his residence. The greatest part of his followers are already come and swarm in all public places, which must make Rome an uneasy place to men of different principles. So we are now in a hurry proposing to set out from hence in a day or two, which makes me fear I shall not have time to enquire about the medals and other things your Lordship mentioned in your last. But I design to leave directions with a friend here to inform himself as to the price of them and where they may be had. He is one who having an excellent genius for painting designs to continue a year longer at Rome, and will gladly serve me in anything that lies in his power. So that by his means I hope to procure anything your Lordship shall have occasion for. I remember to have heard your Lordship speak of certain models in plaster of Paris cast from busts at Florence which miscarried in their way home, and having met with a man in the Villa Medici who has some moulds taken from celebrated antique busts, I have got him to form eight of them in terra cotta (as they call it), which is much more durable than plaster of Paris or gesso, being as hard as brick. Two painted after bronze antique are Julius Caesar and the Antinous in the Vatican, the other six busts have their names on billets affixed to them and are painted of a leaden colour, which seems to me more natural, though perhaps I had done better not to have had them painted at all. These I have seen carefully boxed up and sent to Leghorn, with directions from Mr Ashe to his correspondents there to send them to London to Mr Cairns (Sir Alexander's brother) with orders to deliver them to your Lordship, wishing they may in any measure repair the loss of those you had ordered yourself. You will have nothing to pay Mr Cairns but the carriage from Leghorn to London.

I find the outside of your Lordship's house is finished and doubt not it will answer your fine taste. Within I hope to find a stone staircase, tiled floors, and vaulted roofs, with oval or square oblong pictures in the middle.

We are going to Venice in our way homewards and hope to kiss your Lordship's hands this Spring in London. My humble respects to the Ladies.

I am,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's

most obed^t

hum. Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

FLORENCE, $\frac{2}{20}$ July, N.S. 1720.

MY LORD,

I have at length the pleasure to let you know of having procured for you what they called *serie mezana* of brass medals from Julius Caesar down to Galienus, which they tell me is the period of the good work. They are fifty odd heads fair, about a dozen copies. I have never studied medals so was obliged to follow the judgment of others. I hoped to have been able to have sent you this advice long since, having employed an English gentleman who passed this way to Rome (for my friend who I left there was returned to England). That gentleman after a long delay wrote me word he could get a series at a reasonable rate, but the heads would be very blind, and the sizes unequal. This put

me upon trying what may be done here, and employing persons to pick up what originals may be had in Florence and making copies of the rest: but you know how tedious it is to deal with Italians. I never knew people so ready to promise and so slow to perform.

It is not Magnolfi¹ but one Bianchi who hath care of the painters' heads. But upon enquiry I find it impracticable to have them copied, the great Duke being very jealous in that point lest they should be made public.

I have been with Soldani to know what the busts were which he did for you, but having at different times done things for English gentlemen, he remembers nothing in particular which he did for you.

Since the making those busts I sent you, I had got some others much finer being made of scaglione (a hard composition that looks and shines like marble). These packed up with the greatest care to prevent breaking I ordered to be sent to Mr Cairns at London, but find they are gone without my knowledge to Lisbon with some things of Mr Ashe's in order to embark there for Ireland; but I have desired Mr Ashe to write to his merchant in Dublin to send them back to London.

You wrote to me for a series of marbles. I have been told this was the proper place to get them in; accordingly I have made it my business to enquire for them, but could find only one set in the whole town. It contains about one hundred sorts, being small oval pieces. I shall either send them or bring it myself.

As to the figured stones which you wrote for, when I was here before, I bought several of them which I designed for you. They are now in London; but these as well as the prints are put up promiscuously with Mr Ashe's things, so that I can give no directions for coming at them till we come to London, which I hope will be before the cold weather comes on. I have indeed been detained so long against my expectations

¹ [Laurence Magnolfi, an Italian artist and collector.]

and wishes on this side the Alps that I have lost patience. Every month these six months we have designed to begin our journey and have been as often disappointed. We are now resolved to set out in two days, but shall travel slowly because of the heats which are intolerable except a few hours in the morning and evening.

The advice you were so kind as to forward to me, and for which I return my hearty thanks, having by mistake lain many months at Brussels, came too late to be of any use. This and the like disappointments have had the good effect to harden me against any future mishaps. I hope to find that yourself and other friends there, particularly Mrs Parker and Mrs D. Dering, have had better fortune in the general scramble for the wealth of the nation; nothing else can reconcile the French projects now on foot in England to

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obed^t and most

humble Serv^t,

GEORGE BERKELEY.

Mr Ashe presents his humble service to your Lordship, and I must desire you to present mine to the Ladies and all friends. I was particularly obliged for the account you were pleased to give me of your hopeful offspring, which must be very entertaining to one who by inclination as well as gratitude thinks himself interested in all that concerns your family. Your Lordship cannot do a better service to the public than to get and breed up sons like yourself and daughters like my Lady.

*Berkeley to Percival.*TRIN. COLL., DUBLIN, 12th Oct. 1721.

MY LORD,

I have been now a month in Ireland without writing to your Lordship, not that I am in the least insensible of many favours received from you and good Lady Percival, and the acknowledgments I ought to make for them. But the truth is I deferred it every post, in hopes I should have been able before the following to let you know, I was in possession of the preferment which of all those in the Lord Lieutenant's gift would have been the most agreeable to me, which the goodness I have constantly experienced in your Lordship made me flatter myself would have proved welcome news; but his Grace still imagining himself obliged in point of policy to keep that affair in suspence, I can no longer delay what I should otherwise have done upon my first arrival.

I had no sooner set foot on shore, but I heard that the Deanery of Dromore was become vacant, which is worth about £500 a year, and a sinecure: which circumstance recommends it to me beyond any preferment in the kingdom, though there are some Deaneries of twice that value. I instantly applied to his Grace, and put him in mind of his promises. He answered me very civilly, but in general terms, saying that he meant to do more than he cared to say, and more to the same purpose, from which I could gather that he designed to dispose of nothing during the session, in order to create a dependence, though at the same time he create much trouble to himself and others by encouraging more hopes and solicitations than he can satisfy. I have represented this matter

in a letter to my Lord Burlington¹, but can hardly hope his Lordship will write to the Duke, since he told me in England that he was willing to serve me in any other instance, but that he thought it below him to solicit his Grace any further.

The Duchess is very civil, and, were this affair in her disposal, would I believe bestow it to my liking which I owe to my Lady Percival. Mr Fairfax also befriends me much. But notwithstanding all these things, and the Duke's repeated promises, it must be owned the importunities he exposeth himself to on all hands by this unnecessary delay make me uncertain of the event. One thing I believe is pretty sure, that it will not be determined before the recess, which can hardly be these three weeks yet, it being probable the debates about the bank will hardly be over before that time. I do not find that this new project meets with many partisans here besides those who are immediately interested in it, and I am inclined to think it may come to nothing.

I cannot conclude without recommending to you and your family a preservative against the plague, which I am told alarms you much at present, it is no more than the Jesuits bark taken as against the ague. This I had from Dr Arbuthnot just before I left London, who is resolved his whole family shall make use of it, and I cannot but think for the reasons he gave me, too long to be repeated, it would be of great benefit.

Mr Dering, who has gathered flesh and mended his complection very sensibly in the little time that I have been here, has given me the agreeable news of my Lady Percival's being well. God grant that she may continue so, and bring forth to your Lordship another fine boy, which I hope shortly to hear.

If there be any nonsense in this letter I beg your Lordship will have the goodness to excuse: the truth

¹ [The Earl of Burlington (1695—1753) was noted for his friendship with artists and men of letters.]

is, I am more than half asleep as I write, having been up very early this morning. Pray present my humble service to my Lady, to her sister, and to Mrs Dering, and believe me to be, my Lord,

Yr Lordship's most obed^t and most
humb^{le} Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

If I get this Deanery I hope to see your Lordship soon.

Percival to Berkeley.

CHARLTON, 21st Oct. 1721.

DEAR SIR,

I was thinking to write to you, when last post your letter came to my hands, whereby I find you are in a fair prospect of what I heartily wish you may obtain, since it answers so well your desires, and would suffer you to visit England. I do not wonder you should be impatient till actually in possession of a preferment that differs in such circumstances from others, because accidents unforeseen may rise and disappoint you, but they must be very unforeseen indeed, considering how well you were recommended to his Grace, how respectful he is to you, and let me add because 'tis truth, how well you deserve his favour. His Grace's policy, though perhaps ill judged and needless at this time, to defer the disposal of this preferment till the recess, ought so little to cause you apprehension, that I think it a sign that he intends it for you, because your interest lying on this side and little in Ireland, where that of the other candidates is all together, he apprehends disgusting for the present their friends there, whose service he is obliged to make use of, and

therefore defers the disobliging them till their resentment will come too late to hurt him or the public affairs. We are all of this judgment, and the more so from a great opinion we have of his Grace's honour and discretion, believing that he will consider that the friends he obliges here are such as he passes most of his time with, as his residence is in England. I am very glad you are so well with the Duchess, and my wife hath writ to thank her Grace for her civilities to you. You will do well to cultivate your interest there.

I find the erecting of a Bank in Dublin is yet very uncertain. I am for my own part very indifferent, though it would certainly lower exchange, and consequently be advantageous to us who live here and have estates in Ireland, and I believe if wisely managed might be a benefit to that kingdom. If I thought there were any danger from it of our raising funds for a long term of years, and thereby bringing the nation into constant debt by anticipating any part of the additional supplies that are used to be raised within the year (which probably is apprehended by those who now oppose it), I should be as much against a bank as any man. In the meantime I am glad to find the government so indifferent about it, for it shews that if it pass, there is no private design from that quarter lurking underneath.

I thank you for your receipt against the plague: our apprehensions are not over, though less than a week ago, the story of the Dutch ship being groundless.

With services to you from my wife, and brother, and sister Dering,

I am,

D^r S^r,

Y^r most affect^d Serv^t,

PERCIVAL.

*Berkeley to Percival.*TRINITY COLL., DUBLIN, 23rd Oct. 1721.

MY LORD,

I remember to have read with a great deal of pleasure a very clear and instructive piece of your Lordship's concerning the Bank, or rather concerning Banks in general. I must now make it my request to your Lordship to favour me with a copy of it. It may be sent conveniently in two covers. I cannot but think your discourse would be very serviceable to the public at this time, when men's thoughts and conversation are almost entirely turned towards a subject they are generally speaking very ignorant of. It would even have its use if it were shewn only to two or three leading men in manuscript. I must therefore beg leave to press you on this head, the rather because the bank scheme is not quite laid aside, and may still one way or other be very important.

The love of your country will I doubt not be a sufficient motive to your Lordship to comply in this particular with, my Lord,

Yr Lordship's

Most obed^t and most humb^eServ^t,

G. BERKELEY.

I long to hear how my Lady does and the rest of your family, to all whom pray give my humble service. The affair which I mentioned last is not yet come to an issue.

*Percival to Berkeley.*CHARLTON, 9th Nov. 1721.D^r S^r,

Your opinion that what I put together touching an Irish Bank might furnish a reader with topics for reflection and discourse prevailed on me to comply with your desire of sending you those sheets, as I did a post ago under two covers directed for you at Trinity College, Dublin. The better part of them is taken from books of that sort that I had by me, wherein I found many things I did not well comprehend, and others I thought not rightly judged which I omitted, and substituted in their place what my own reflections suggested, applying the whole to the particular circumstances of Ireland. This is all the hand I properly had in that paper, nor should I have meddled at all in it, but that the gentlemen employed at that time to solicit a bank desired me to give them my thoughts thereof. I never shewed it to any but them, yourself, and my brother Dering, and am very desirous that you lend it only to such as will make no other use of it than you design yourself to do, for I am far from thinking so well of it as you seem to do, and know how weak a composure it must appear at this time when the subject of it is so canvassed and warmly contended for and against by the gentlemen in parliament.

I am obliged to you for often acquainting me with what relates to your private concern. I am still of opinion the Deanery will be yours, and that not only from an aptness to credit my own wishes, but for the reasons I writ you in my last.

I am amusing myself with alterations in my garden, though another man's land, which by that time they come to perfection will be no longer mine; but if any man

shall condemn my copying after the Duke of Buckingham¹, who for his pleasure planted another man's fields, I will answer with him: blame me when I do ill, but suffer me in that which is good. When my trees are in my ground, I shall go for the winter to town, where all my family with pleasure expect your return about the time the government leaves Ireland.

Our family are much your humble servants. My wife is, as she always is at such times, very uneasy, but under no dangerous circumstances.

I am, &c.,

PERCIVAL.

I know not whether I mentioned one indispensable caution about the Bank; it is, that they be obliged not to lend the government any money but by consent of Parliament. Without such restriction I should be absolutely against it, and will require an Act of Parliament for that purpose. Pray inculcate this to your friends. The Bank of England is so bound up.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRINITY COLL., DUB. [*Dec.*] 1721.

MY LORD,

I just now received the favour of your Lordship's letter, together with your dissertation on the Bank, for which I most heartily thank your Lordship. After a long dearth of news we have had ten packets this evening at once, which alone could occasion my being so late in my acknowledgment. I shall make the use you prescribe of what you have been pleased to send me, and must ask your pardon if I persist in

¹ [Buckingham was the patron of Dryden and friend of Pope.]

thinking very differently of it from what you seem to do. And to say no more, this I will venture to affirm, that I never saw anything so proper as to give me an easy insight into the several sorts of banks as your Lordship's papers. We have had two or three things printed here about the late project, particularly one by Mr Maxwell, and an answer to it by Mr Rowley, both Parliament men, the first for, the latter against the Bank, which I would have sent to you, had I judged such large pamphlets worth the postage. But that affair is in such a declining way, that it is to be questioned whether it will be resumed this session, which commences next week.

The Deanery still continues in suspense, and is likely to remain so till the parliament is up, which probably will not be before middle of Jan'y.

Your Lordship's amusement in planting trees for the use of a stranger is so far from culpable, that it shews a refined taste and a disinterested benevolence to mankind, a thing not the less excellent because it is rare and perhaps ridiculous in this corrupt age.

Three days hence we are to have the honour of entertaining the Duke of Grafton at the College, and I am appointed to make the Latin speech to him, which employs my thoughts for the present, so I shall give you no further trouble, but concluding with my best good wishes for yourself, my good Lady Percival, and all the rest of your family.

I remain,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obed^t & most humb^l Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*TR. COLL. DUBLIN, 9th Jan'y. 17 ^{$\frac{21}{22}$} .

MY LORD,

It is very obliging in your Lordship to think of me and my interests in the kind manner you do. This makes me think it will not be altogether impertinent to lay before you a short account of our Irish vacancies in the Church. There are vacant besides the Bishopric of Leighlin and Fernes, the Deaneries of Downe, Dromore, Limerick and Cork, and also some smaller benefices. I applied at first for that of Dromore, and have not since altered my application, the Bishopric and rich Deanery of Downe being above my desires, and the others below them. The Deanery of Dromore exactly suits my wishes, and I have had encouragement to hope for it. At first I forced myself to be a pretty constant courtier, but of late have remitted somewhat of my diligence, being tired out with delays. I do nevertheless still see the Duke and Duchess once in ten days. The truth is, the assurances I have had from both ought in good manners to make me easy till the time comes when things can be declared, which cannot be far off if the Parliament rises in a fortnight.

For news I hear none, but that the Commons have been uneasy at their bills being altered in the Council here. This it was thought would have produced some resolutions, but their heat I am now told is now over. For some time past I have been afflicted for the death of Mr Ashe who died at Brussels.

I am glad to hear your family are all well, and am in hopes when you next favour me to have an account of my Lady's safe deliverance. So wishing you and all yours all happiness, I remain,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obedientand most humb^{le} Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*TRIN. COLL., 10th Feb. 17²¹/₂₂.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship hath been always so partial to my interests, that I persuade myself it will be welcome news to you that my patent is now passing the seals for the Deanery of Dromore. As upon all other accounts so especially on my Lady Duchess' favour and friendly interposition on my behalf, I am very sensible of the obligations I have to my good Lady Percival. I shall be in pain till I hear she is well delivered of a child, that from my heart I wish may rival Mr Johnny in learning, or Miss Helena in beauty, and I can hardly wish more. I shall then request another favour from her Ladyship, and that is to acknowledge those I have received from my Lady Duchess. I believe I have formerly told your Lordship the Deanery of Dromore is worth £500 p. ann. It is what were I in possession would please me beyond anything, but the worst of it is, the Bishop, pretending a title, hath put in a presentee of his own, which unavoidably engages me in a lawsuit; but if I succeed, my pains will be abundantly recompensed.

I am, my Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obedientServ^t,

G. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*TRIN. COLL. 13th Feb. 172¹/₂.

MY LORD,

As among all your friends there is nobody hath better reason to be pleased with any good fortune that befalls your Lordship or good Lady Percival than I have, so I beg leave to assure you there is no one employs more sincere and constant wishes for your prosperity. You will therefore do me the justice to believe it was most agreeable news to me which I heard this day of my Lady's being safely delivered of a fine boy. I could not omit congratulating your Lordship on this happy event, and at the same time wishing you may live to procure many of the same kind to your own comfort, and the joy of all your friends, particularly, my Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obedient &
most humble Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY

*Percival to Berkeley.*LONDON, 3rd March, 172¹/₂.D^r S^r,

I yesterday waited on the Duke of Grafton to thank him for his favours to you. He expressed very great respect for you and is only sorry you meet with such opposition from your Bishop¹. He said that he is told the B—p's Patent is very strong in favour of his pretensions to name a dean, but that you had been allowed £50 out of the Concordation to carry

¹ Dr Lambert, Bishop of Dromore. P.

on the suit. I wondered how it should be made now a dispute, to which he replied that the last Dean had been long in the place, and that the matter had been compromised the time before. I heartily hope you will overcome this difficulty, which I fear is like to detain you from us this summer.

I find he is not well pleased at the resistance Bishop Hort¹ meets with from some of that bench. He was, he said, many years Chaplain to the late Bishop of Ely, and a sober gentlemanlike man. He expected however that last Sunday the Bishops in Commission would ordain him. My wife went out yesterday for the fifth time to see my sister Dering who has miscarried.

I am ever, &c.

PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

DUBLIN, 15th March, 172½.

MY LORD,

It was very kind of your Lordship to wait on the Lord Lieutenant and acknowledge the favour his Grace has been pleased to confer on me, which I am very sensible was in great goodness designed for my advantage, though in the event it may possibly prove otherwise. I had indeed £50 Concordation money given towards carrying on the suit at the last Council the Duke held. Twenty-five of that is gone already in seeing lawyers, and making searches and extracts in several offices, though the suit be not yet commenced; which upon enquiry I find will be more tedious, and the event much more doubtful, than I was at first aware

¹ Mr Hort, a Dean before, made Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns. He had been a Presbyterian teacher but came over to our Church, but was not ordained, as the A.B. of Dublin, of Tuam, and Bishop of Deir Clogher alleged. P.

of, but with a sure expense on my side, if I am informed right, of several hundred pounds besides what I am likely to get from the Government, which will go but a little way to fee eight lawyers (for so many I have engaged), and defray all other expenses of a suit against a man who is worth £1200 p. ann. beside the Deanery which he is in actual possession of, and who hath been practised in lawsuits five and twenty years together. This being the case, my friends think it would be no unreasonable request for me to desire the Chantership of Christ Church now vacant by the death of the Dean of Armagh¹, and said to be worth somewhat more than one hundred pounds p. ann. This Chantership is consistent with my fellowship, and might enable me to carry on the suit with ease, and perhaps recover the right of the Crown. And as it is in his Grace's gift, who hath on all occasions shewn great humanity and goodness, I have hopes he may comply with my request, if it be speedily laid before him in a proper manner. As there is no one can do this better than your Lordship, so there is no one on whose friendship and protection I can better depend. I must likewise recommend myself to good Lady Percival whose speaking to the Duchess will be of service, her Grace having been always favourable to me on her account. If your Lordship could speak yourself, or (if unacquainted with him) could get another to speak to Mr Hopkins, it would be very proper and useful on this occasion.

Your Lordship will do me the justice to believe, that as I have the sincerest gratitude for the favour his Grace hath already conferred upon me, so I should not presume to solicit for a new one, if I were in possession of that, and not under just apprehensions of a long, uncertain, and expensive suit, in no sort proportioned to my circumstances, which nevertheless I may be enabled to prosecute to the utmost by the addition of this small preferment.

¹ Dr Drelingcourt. P.

I should be glad to hear your family are all well, and that Mrs Dering was out of danger.

You see, my Lord, the trouble your good natured inclination to serve your friends has drawn upon you. I have a particular reason why I would not trouble my Lord Burlington¹ in this affair, and I thought it would be more respectful to get a friend to state the case to the Duke than to write myself to him upon it. If in desiring this from your Lordship I ask anything improper, you are the best judge in what manner to act or whether to act at all; so begging ten thousand pardons, I conclude,

Y^r Lordship's most obed^t and most
obliged Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 27th March, 1722.

D^r S^r,

Though it is now some time since I received your last, I could not answer it before, for the Duke of Grafton was out of town, and returned but a few days since. Thursday I communicated your desire to him in the properest manner I could, and added of my own that upon the termination of the suit you would surrender the Chantership for his Grace to dispose of as he pleased. He replied that I knew very well the great value he had for you, and that you should still be supplied out of the Concordation to carry on the suit as you wanted it, you making it appear how you disposed of the same, but that the Chantership must go another way. I thanked his Grace, but said the

¹ [*Supra*, p. 179.]

A. B. of Dublin was not much your friend; to which he replied he believed it, for that he said he did not know you, but it signified nothing, the other two Justices would do as he directed.

My wife and Daniel both think this is sufficient from his Grace, and truly I think so too, though I always shall wish your desires may be answered in your own way. We all wonder why you employ eight lawyers, both for the expense, and that we think you can hardly find so many good ones, supposing the other party to have engaged the best he could.

I am ever,

&c.

PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRINITY COLLEGE, 14th April, 1722.

MY LORD,

I humbly thank your Lordship for the trouble you have taken on my account, not doubting but you have laid my affair before his Grace in the properest and kindest manner that good nature and good sense should suggest.

I make no question that the Duke will think it reasonable my cause should be supported out of the treasury during his Lieutenancy, but I much fear it will survive his government.

Your Lordship is surprised at the number of my lawyers, and truly so am I myself, having at first little thought that I should have occasion for so many. They are six counsellors, two attorneys, and a civilian. The former are Rogerson, Marlow, Malone, Nuttley, Stannard, and Howard. The attorneys are Mr Smith of the King's Bench, and Mr Stanton who is my solicitor. My civilian is Dr Hawkshaw. The cause is a great cause, and I was told that fewer would not

do. My adversary, if I am informed right, hath as many, and had the advantage to pre-engage the best, before I had got my Patent.

Tuesday last I had a meeting of my lawyers, who direct that I should proceed by *quare impedit*, and I am to serve my adversaries the Bishop and Dr Lesley with a writ this week.

God preserve your Lordship from law and lawyers. Had the Deanery been disposed of when first vacant, I had been in possession and avoided all this trouble, but now the Bishop's clerk is in, I fear it will be a very difficult matter to dispossess him: so difficult and so doubtful that I heartily wish instead of my present Patent I had a promise of the next Deanery that falls.

One of the most disagreeable effects of my lawsuit is that it detains me from England, and consequently from Charlton, where I proposed being happy this summer, and where I hope your Lordship, my good Lady Percival and your delightful offspring now enjoy all those domestic pleasures which constitute the true and solid comforts of life.

I am, my Lord,

&c.

G. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

DUBLIN, TRINITY COLLEGE, 29th July, 1722.

MY LORD,

Not having the honour of a line from your Lordship since my last, I am well pleased to find by Mr Percival that you and my Lady and the rest of the family are well.

Your Lordship knows this barren bleak island too well to expect any news from it worth your notice.

The most remarkable thing now going on is a house of Mr Conolly's at Castletown. It is 142 feet in front, and above 60 deep in the clear, the height will be about 70. It is to be of fine wrought stone, harder and better coloured than the Portland, with outhouse joining to it by colonnades &c. The plan is chiefly of Mr Conolly's invention, however, in some points they are pleased to consult me. I hope it will be an ornament to the country.

On Thursday next the King's equestrian statue is to be uncovered and exposed to view; the several companys will ride the fringes on that day, and our magistrates appear in their utmost magnificence. I hear six guineas are given for a floor to see the show. I was desired to made the Latin inscription for the statue, which I did, being willing to distinguish my zeal for his Majesty, and in consequence thereof had the honour to dine at my Lord Mayor's on last great day.

I heartily wish my lawsuit was at an end, that I may pay a visit to my friends in England, especially yourself and my good Lady, whom I long to see; but as it is, it unluckily detains me here from seeing my friends, or prosecuting my interest in England. I do nevertheless conceive hopes it may be cut short by a project contained in the enclosed, which when you have read, I must entreat you to seal and deliver or send to Mr Molyneux. I take the liberty to give you this trouble, having cause to suspect that some former letters of mine to him might have miscarried, and as this is of importance, I would fain have it go sure and speedy. My Lord, I am out of countenance for the trouble I have given you, and remain with a hearty sense of all your favours,

Y^r Lordship's

Most obed^t & most hum^{ble} Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

*Percival to Berkeley.*TUNBRIDGE, 5th Aug. 1722.D^r S^r,

I received your letter with the other enclosed for Mr Molyneux last Sunday, and sent it immediately under a cover to Kew. I writ at the same time to him in hopes to have an answer, and thereby the satisfaction of knowing the letter came safe to his hands. I think the expedient you have proposed is extremely reasonable and proper, and the Duke must be strangely overseen, or under very strong obligations of promise to some other person, if he do not close with it and thereby preserve the right of the Crown, which by his negligence is so much in jeopardy.

I have been to blame that I did not answer your former letter till now, but to say the truth I had nothing to send you material, and I have not style to make something out of nothing, which is so easy to some.

I think it is now nine weeks in all since we came here, and my wife by reason of the bad weather and cholic has drunk the waters but twelve days only; but she is now very well and will pursue a regular course with them for three weeks, when we shall return to Charlton. We have often wished you with us, and now more especially that we propose to pass the winter there.

I am glad that for the honour of my country, that Mr Conolly has undertaken so magnificent a pile of building, and your advice has been taken upon it. I hope that the execution will answer the design, wherein one especial care must be to procure good masons. I shall be impatient until you send me a sketch of the whole plan and of your two fronts. You will do well to recommend to him the making use of all the marbles he can get of the production of Ireland for his

chimneys, for since this house will be the finest Ireland ever saw, and by your description fit for a Prince, I would have it as it were the epitome of the kingdom, and all the natural rarities she afford should have a place there. I would examine the several woods there for inlaying my floors, and wainscot with our own oak, and walnut : my stone stairs should be of black palmers stone, and my buffet adorned with the choicest shells our strand afford. I would even carry my zeal to things of art : my hangings, bed, cabinets and other furniture should be Irish, and the very silver that ornamented my locks and grates should be the produce of our own mines. But I forget that I write to a gentleman of the country who knows better what is proper and what the kingdom affords.

D^r S^r,

Y^r affect. friend & humble Serv^t,

PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRINITY COLL. DUBL., 7th Sept. 1722.

MY LORD,

I am to return my thanks to your Lordship for your obliging letter, and your care in conveying mine to Mr Molyneux, though as it happens I might have spared my friends and myself that trouble. I flatter myself with hopes of seeing your Lordship in London this winter, if I can steal so much time from my lawsuit; which besides that it gives me but a very discouraging prospect (the only way of getting possession of the Deanery being I am fully persuaded to make Dean Lesley a Bishop) hath this inconvenience, that it keeps me from friends in England, though I have a letter of absence.

I shall then give you the best account I can of Mr Conolly's House; in the meantime you will be surprised to hear that the building is begun and the cellar floor arched before they have agreed on any plan for the elevation or façade. Several have been made by several hands, but as I do not approve of a work conceived by many heads so I have made no draught of mine own. All I do being to give my opinion on any point, when consulted.

We are much alarmed here by the seizing of the Bishop of Rochester, which makes men think the plot more considerable than was at first imagined. Providence hath hitherto baffled all schemes for introducing popery and arbitrary power, and I trust in God will continue to do so. I am sorry and ashamed to see a Protestant Bishop accused of so foul a conspiracy.

I remain with my humblest services to Lady Percival and best wishes to all your family,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obed^t and most

obliged Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRIN. COLL. DUB., Oct. 1722.

MY LORD,

I have still hopes of seeing your Lordship this winter, when I flatter myself with the prospect of rejoicing by your fireside, where I have spent so many agreeable hours.

The information you were so good to send me about the Bishop of Rochester was very acceptable:

it is an affair that holds us all in suspense, everyone longing to see the event and know his accomplices.

As to my own affair, I could wish it were one brought to any conclusion, being prepared for the issue, be it what it will, and I think as indifferent about it as one can well be supposed to be on a like occasion.

My Lord Duke hath taken one step of late that pleases every one, I mean the presenting Dr Bolton to the Bishopric of Clonfert. He could not possibly have pitched upon a person more universally esteemed and unenvied. There is another of that name Dean of Derry, who lieth dangerously ill of a palsy, and is indeed past hopes of recovery. My friends think that in case of a vacancy I may have some pretensions to my Lord Lieutenant's favour; especially if his Grace shall not think fit to recommend my adversary to a Bishopric, without which I have little or no prospect of succeeding to the Deanery of Dromore.

As to Mr Payzant's copying pieces out of our Library, it is at present so old and ruinous, and the books so out of order, that there is little attendance given; beside it is unusual for strangers to be admitted to copy in it. The only way is for me to borrow in my own name and under caution any book that you would have copied, and so for Mr Payzant to transcribe it at home, which I will gladly do. Let me therefore know what your Lordship would have, and I will enquire if it be in our MS. library, which to speak the truth is but indifferently furnished. This with my respects to my good Lady Percival, your Lordship and all your family, not forgetting Mr Dering and Mrs Dering, is what occurs from,

Y^r Lordship's, &c.,

G. BERKELEY.

*Percival to Berkeley.*CHARLTON, 22nd Nov. 1722.D^r S^r,

You write with such indifference about your Deanery, that one would think the old times are returning, when the clergy fled into the wilderness to avoid a Bishopric. I am sure there is much of that spirit appears in the resignation you shew to the issue of Providence in this particular affair, a preferment which of all others pleased your mood as most agreeable to your health, studies, and the enjoyment of your friends. What encouragement the lawyers have given you to proceed in your suit since your last to me I know not, but I suspect it not to be great, as well from your way of writing, as from what a gentleman told me some time ago, that he heard you begun to think you had not the right of your side.

Your hint of the Deanery of Derry is good, if my Lord Burlington¹, Leinster, or other of your friends here, who have the best interest with the Duke, would propose it to his Grace; but surely it would be well worth your while to come over and animate their friendship in person. It would not retard your suit in Ireland, but would certainly promote any new project you entertain. Besides, by assuring yourself of the earliest intelligence from that side of any dignity worth your acceptance that shall fall in your absence, you will be upon the spot to make a sudden application yourself to the Duke, which is the likeliest means to get it, for the first applyer generally succeeds, and it is much harder to resist a personal application when not unreasonable, than that made by another in behalf of his friend.

The interest I have with his Grace was, you know, not able to serve you in that small request you made

¹ [*Supra*, p. 179.]

him by me to give you a small living to help out the expenses of the suit; and yet if it were greater, my brother Percival's affair, which I solicited long before your acquaintance with the Duke and lies yet unfinished, prevents me from urging the concerns of any other in that effectual manner which I could wish I had the liberty or credit with him to do; not to mention likewise another thing, which I beg you to keep secret because it was his Grace's commands to me that I should, my promotion to the rank of a Viscount, which without my asking, or in truth desiring, he told me he had asked of the King. This reason for secrecy was the application that others might make for a like mark of the King's favour, and therefore pray say nothing of it till you see it in the prints. I take notice of it to you, to make you sensible that by this and my brother's affair I am not at so great liberty as others to ask favours, were my interest with him before as great as theirs, which I am far from pretending to. But pray consider what I now and in my former letters did propose, that you should come over and in person take care of your affairs.

I am now at Charlton, where I thought to stay the winter, if my wife's cholic which is returned upon her with very great severity did permit, but it obliges us to go to the Bath, as we shall do in about ten days or a fortnight. She has it every day and night, and I do not find that the physicians are of much use to her, other than now and then to give her a little ease, but they all advise to these waters.

My children I thank God are all well and so are our other friends. I am pleased to hear that you enjoy your health and am ever,

Y^r affec^t friend & hum^{le} Serv^t,

PERCIVAL.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, 16th Dec. 1722.

MY LORD,

After so dangerous a voyage, and so long a journey, it is a great mortification to find myself disappointed of the principal pleasure I proposed in London, by your Lordship's and my Lady's absence at Bath. But the occasion is still more mortifying. I hope my good Lady finds the benefit she expected from those waters. If the Bath doth not perfect her cure, I know a place within a thousand leagues that I am persuaded will, if I can persuade her Ladyship to go thither. But more of this when I have the happiness to see you.

For the present I have made an excursion into England, partly to see my friends, and partly to inform myself in some points of law which are not so well known in Ireland. I am heartily sorry that my suit is likely to call me back before your return to London, but if it should, I shall not be long without making another attempt to see you.

I know not whether you have heard of our abandoned condition at sea. For thirty-six hours together we expected every minute to be swallowed by a wave, or dashed in pieces against a rock. We sprung and split our mast, lost our anchor, and heaved our guns overboard. The storm and the sea were outrageous beyond description, but it pleased God to deliver us.

I have services to you and my Lady from Mr Percival and Mrs Percival, as also an Irish prayer-book which your brother sends as a specimen of our good printing.

The first house I went to was yours in Pall Mall, where I found the children very well, and was particularly well pleased with my new acquaintance, your

youngest son, who is as fine a boy as the sun shines on. My humble service to my Lady and Mrs Dering.

I am,

My L^d,

Y^r Lordship's most obed^t

& affec^t Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Percival to Berkeley.

BATH, 21st Dec. 1722.

D^r S^r,

You may believe I was very uneasy to hear you was on board the yacht, when at the same time we had no account of her but believed her lost. I congratulate [you on] your escape most heartily, and share in the pleasure your safe arrival in London gives your friends. 'Tis an addition to the trouble of a long winter's journey hither that I do not see you, and more so that by what you write me you propose to be gone again for Ireland before my return to London. I hope you have had frequent opportunities of seeing his Grace and improving his good intentions towards you. There are very few things would give me equal pleasure to that of hearing you had overcome this vexatious business of the Deanery. I was alarmed two posts ago with a report that the Duke was to quit his government, but to-day I had letters from those that ought to know that it is not true. I hope at least he will keep it until you either get your point, or have satisfaction made you some other way to your mind.

My wife finds herself better within these few days from a vomit she took, but her cholic is too obstinate to yield presently. Here are several Irish gentry, as

Lord Barrimore, Sir Pierce Butler and his Lady, Mr Mathew Ford and his family, Mr Butler, Lord Montgarret's son, Cousin Oliver and his Lady, Mr Stafford, Mrs Hambleton, &c.; and some Scots, as the Duke of Queensbury, Lord Dunbarton and others: but I have no great acquaintance with any of them, and consequently am not here in full delight. I hope you received a letter I writ you to Dublin, wherein I enclosed one that came from beyond seas.

We have little news here. Lady Blantyre died here two days ago, and Mr Rolt¹, Parliament man from Chipenham, lies dangerously ill of the small-pox, which is pretty rife among us. My wife and sister give you their affectionate service, and I am ever,

D^r S^r,

Y^r hum^{le} & obed^t Serv^t,

PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, *March 4th, 17²²/₂₃.*

MY LORD,

It is now about ten months since I have determined with myself to spend the residue of my days in the Island of Bermuda, where I trust in Providence I may be the mean instrument of doing good to mankind. Your Lordship is not to be told that the reformation of manners among the English in our western plantations, and the propagation of the Gospel among the American savages, are two points of high moment. The natural way of doing this is by founding a college or seminary in some convenient part of the West Indies, where the English youth

¹ Deceased soon after. P.

of our plantations may be educated in such sort as to supply the churches with pastors of good morals and good learning, a thing (God knows!) much wanted. In the same seminary a number of young American savages may be also educated till they have taken their degree of Master of Arts. And being by that time well instructed in Christian religion, practical mathematics, and other liberal arts and sciences, and early endued with public spirited principles and inclinations, they may become the fittest missionaries for spreading religion, morality, and civil life, among their countrymen, who can entertain no suspicion or jealousy of men of their own blood and language, as they might do of English missionaries, who can never be so well qualified for that work. Some attempts have been made towards a college in the West, but to little purpose, chiefly I conceive for want of a proper situation wherein to place such college or seminary, as also for want of a sufficient number of able men well qualified with divine and human learning, as well as with zeal to prosecute such an undertaking. As to the first, I do think the small group of Bermuda Islands the fittest spot for a college on the following accounts. 1. It is the most equidistant part of our plantations from all the rest, whether in the continent, or the isles. 2. It is the only Plantation that holds a general commerce and correspondence with all the rest, there being sixty cedar ships belonging to the Bermudians, which they employ as carriers to all parts of the English West Indies, in like manner as the Dutch are carriers in Europe. 3. The climate is by far the healthiest and most serene, and consequently the most fit for study. 4. There is the greatest abundance of all the necessary provisions for life, which is much to be considered in a place of education. 5. It is the securest spot in the universe, being environed round with rocks all but one narrow entrance, guarded by seven forts, which render it inaccessible not only to pirates but to the united force of France

and Spain. 6. The inhabitants have the greatest simplicity of manners, more innocence, honesty, and good nature, than any of our other planters, who are many of them descended from whores, vagabonds, and transported criminals, none of which ever settled in Bermudas. 7. The Islands of Bermuda produce no one enriching commodity, neither sugar, tobacco, indigo, or the like, which may tempt men from their studies to turn traders, as the parsons do too often elsewhere.

It would take up too much of your Lordship's time minutely to describe the beauties of Bermuda, the summers refreshed with constant cool breezes, the winters as mild as our May, the sky as light and blue as a sapphire, the ever green pastures, the earth eternally crowned with fruits and flowers. The woods of cedars, palmettos, myrtles, oranges &c., always fresh and blooming. The beautiful situations and prospects of hills, vales, promontories, rocks, lakes and sinuses of the sea. The great variety, plenty, and perfection of fish, fowl, vegetables of all kinds, and (which is in no other of our Western Islands) the most excellent butter, beef, veal, pork, and mutton. But above all, that uninterrupted health and alacrity of spirit, which is the result of the finest weather and gentlest climate in the world, and which of all others is the most effectual cure for the cholic, as I am most certainly assured by the information of many very credible persons of all ranks who have been there.

In case I carry Deanery (as I have good hopes I shall) I design to erect a charity school in Dromore, and to maintain ten savages and ten whites in the Bermudan University. But whatever happens, go I am resolved if I live. Half a dozen of the most agreeable and ingenious men of our college are with me in this project. And since I came hither I have got together about a dozen English men of quality, and gentlemen, who intend to retire to these islands, to build villas and plant gardens, and to enjoy health of body and peace of mind, where they have a soft

freestone like that at Bath, and a soil which produces everything that grows in America, Europe, or the East, and where a man may live with more pleasure and dignity for £500 p. annum than for £10,000 here: in short where men may find, in fact, whatsoever the most poetical imagination can figure to itself in the golden age, or the Elysian fields.

I have been proposing every day this month past to trouble you with this narrative, and have at last ventured to do it, tho' I run the risk of being thought mad and chimerical. But I beg your Lordship not to determine anything of me or my project till I have the honour of seeing you at Charlton, which I hope for this summer, and thereto lay before you a thousand things relating to the scheme, the method of carrying it on, and answering objections against it. In the meantime I am going to Ireland, for three months, or four at most, by which time my lawsuit will probably be ended. If I can make a convert of your Lordship to Bermuda, I doubt not my Lady will be pleased to pass a few years there for the perfect recovery of her health, to which that climate will contribute beyond anything in the world. My heartiest good wishes and best respects to her Ladyship.

I am, &c.,

G. BERKELEY.

D. Dering to Percival.

LONDON, 5th March, 172³.

MY DEAR LORD,

My wife tells me she has writ to my sister a letter of five pages, and consequently has told her all the news this town affords. And I enclose to you one from the Dean of Dromore (which as I told him I opened) and finds he set forth his Bermuda designs

with the same earnestness that he really and *bona fide* pursues them. I am not allowed till I see you to name names, but you will be surprised when you hear the company he has engaged to go with him. Young and old, learned and rich, all desirous of retiring to enjoy peace of mind and health of body, and of restoring the golden age in that corner of the world. How far they are right I cannot say, but I am sure he is in the right to get the most agreeable company he can to enable him to go through with a project which certainly in its foundation is truly Christian and noble, and so I heartily wish him success in it. He set out this morning for Dublin, from whence I am still without an answer from Charles[Dering], but expect one every post. The two families of the Schutz's are with me, and desire their humble services, but will not allow me more time than to assure you that I am ever your and my sister's most affectionately,

D[ANIEL] D[ERING].

Little George cut a great tooth yesterday, and is very well; Johnny is gone to the Opera, and Kitty with my wife. The face I am assured is entirely and without correction Johnny's performance.

Berkeley to Percival.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, 4th June, 1723.

MY LORD,

The kind concern you have always shewn for my interests hath made it become my duty to inform you of any great advantage that should befall me. Some thing of that sort is just now come to pass, that probably will surprise your Lordship as much as it doth me. Mrs Hester van Omry, a Lady to whom I was a perfect stranger, having never in the whole

course of my life, to my knowledge, exchanged one single word with her, died on Sunday night. Yesterday her will was opened, by which it appears that I am constituted executor, the advantage whereof is computed by those who understand her affairs to be worth three thousand pounds, and if a suit she had depending be carried, it will be considerably more. But this is only a confused gross reckoning; in a little time I hope to see more distinctly into the state of her affairs. If this had not happened, I was determined to write to your Lordship by this post on my Lady's account. I am heartily sorry to hear she is not so well recovered of her cholic by the Bath as I could wish, and do therefore repeat and insist on the advice I formerly gave her Ladyship to go and drink the waters of Geronster near Spa. If this does not perfect her cure, there is nothing left but your and her going to Bermuda, where to enjoy the company of you all in good health, would be as great a blessing as I can figure to myself upon earth.

I know not what your thoughts are on the long account I sent you from London to Bath of my Bermuda scheme, (which is now stronger on my mind than ever, this providential event having made many things easy in my private affairs which were otherwise before). But I hear that Mr Moore reports that you are terrified with the apprehension of earthquakes. Upon the word of a priest, I am thoroughly convinced that an earthquake was never known to have happened in Bermuda. The Summer Islands are all to my certain knowledge freer from earthquakes than that on which you now live. There is not (I may say without vanity) a man in the world, who never was in the Summer Islands, that knows so much of them as I do; and this of the earthquakes is a most villanous calumny, set about by somebody who wants objections against the scheme, as I could easily prove by arguments and testimonies to your Lordship; but that I am in a prodigious hurry, the Lady being to be buried in

a little more than an hour's time. Her funeral is under the direction of the King at arms, where I am to act I know not what part, which puts an end to this hasty scrawl.

I am, my Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obed^t

and most hum^{le} Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

Percival to Berkeley.

SPA, 30th June, 1723.

DEAR S^r,

I arrived here two days ago, and yesterday had the pleasure of receiving your letter, dated 4th inst., which gives me an account of the convincing proof that a deceased Lady has given of her value for you when living. I congratulate you upon it from the bottom of my heart, and all the company with me received an inexpressible pleasure at the account. I hope it is only an earnest of the good things Providence has in store for a person so disinterested as you have ever been, and who will make so good use of the favours it shall bestow.

We all conclude that you will now persist in your thoughts of settling in Bermuda, and prosecute that noble scheme, which if favoured by our Court may in some time exalt your name beyond that of St Xavier, or any the most famous missions abroad; but without the protection and encouragement of the government you will meet with difficulties of sundry sorts from governors abroad, and from persons in office at home, as the Commissioners of the Plantation, the Society

de propaganda Fide, and even the Bishop of London, under whom the care of the Plantations in religious matters lies as you know. Not that any of them can oppose the design you go upon, in general, but they may perplex you in the manner of carrying it on, unless you first settle every thing with them in part, and procure an assured protection from the supreme power. But both your own wisdom and the piety of the design will I am sure conduct it through, and then you will have the honour of wiping off the reproach, which Papists cast on us, of not having the care of infidels' souls at heart. But whether you go, or stay, in whatever station you are placed, and whatever scheme of life you resolve on, you have my best wishes to attend you.

My wife has to this hour the cholic, and but for laudanum, which more or less she takes every day, would be very miserable; even with it she can but barely support herself. It was the disappointment she met with in the several waters at home, and the number of medicines prescribed her (all without effect), that determined her to leave her children and take your advice of coming to Geronster. We shall in a few days see what we are to expect from these waters, but at present the season is so wet we cannot begin them. I pray God they may prove successful, for after this, if she should not recover, I know not what she can do, but give herself up to laudanum for life. I am,

D^r S^r,

Y^r affect & hum^{le} Serv^t,

PERCIVAL.

*Berkeley to Percival.*TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, 19th Sept. 1723.

MY LORD,

I heartily congratulate your and good Lady Percival's safe arrival at Charlton, though I must own the pleasure this incident would otherwise have given me is not a little alloyed by the account I hear of her Ladyship's not receiving all the benefit she expected from the Spa waters. I hope however that she is considerably eased, but for a perfect cure of so rooted a disorder, it must I believe under God be the effect of time and change of air. Besides my best wishes and prayers for her Ladyship's health, I will venture to contribute my mite of advice, how extravagant however it may seem, and that is to try the air of the summer Islands which I am thoroughly satisfied is the best in the world, and particularly good for the cholic. And in good earnest what is a year's or two years' confinement there in competition with her health, which I am sure your Lordship can never be easy without.

In my last I gave an account of a legacy left me by a Lady. Since that, looking into her affairs we find her debts to have been considerably greater than we imagined. I am, nevertheless, still likely to make two thousand pound clear, not reckoning in the law suit depending between the executors and Mr Partinton.

As to the suit about the Deanery of Dromore, I despair of seeing it end to my advantage. The Deanery of Down is now vacant, but there is such a crowd of competitors for everything, that I cannot promise myself success without such assiduity and attendance as I hardly think it deserves. The truth is, my first purpose of going to Bermuda sets me above soliciting anything with earnestness in this part of the world, which can now be of no use to me, but as it may enable me the better to prosecute that design: and it must be owned that the present possession of something in the Church would make my application

for an establishment in these Islands more considered. I mean a Charter for a College there, which of all things I desire, as being what would reconcile duty and inclination, making my life at once more useful to the public and more agreeable to myself than I can possibly expect elsewhere. And as I am to run into visions on this subject, I have sometimes thought it not quite impossible that you and my Lady may sometime or other take a fancy to retire to that part of the world. But I dare only think this possible, and if it be otherwise should be sorry to be undeceived. I am with all respect, My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obed^t most hum^{le}

& affec^t Serv^t,

GEORG. BERKELEY.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 8th Oct. 1723.

DEAR S^r,

It is always with great pleasure I hear from you, and especially when you inform me of anything falling out to your advantage or satisfaction. The legacy you write me of, you was so kind to let me know before, and I congratulated you upon it, as I do again, heartily wishing the lawsuit may end in your favour. I know no body deserves it better, as on other accounts, so for the good use you will make of it. I could only wish this Providence had come a year later, that you might not be so negligent as you appear to be in your pursuits at court, where you know nothing is to be had without strong soliciting, especially when such a number of competitors shew themselves, and in a time of Parliament. Surely the Deanery of Down is worth all lawful ways of obtaining, and he who is most deserving of it ought to make the strongest

pushes, because he seems to have a moral right to it. I can say no more but that I earnestly wish it you.

I am extremely obliged to you for your concern for my wife, who is returned from the Geronster without finding the good effects from those waters she expected; but that journey gave her the opportunity of consulting foreign physicians, particularly the famous Dr Boerhaave¹ of Leyden, who upon a full knowledge of her case has ordered her some pills, a drink, and constant exercise on horseback. This will oblige her to stay the winter at Charlton, where she may go all day long in her riding habit, and not be prevented in her course by impertinent visits, or frightened by coaches and carts. I need not tell you how agreeably your company there would make us pass our time, but since we cannot hope for it speedily, pray make it up in part by letting us hear from you.

My wife gives you her affectionate service, and desires me to tell you that while she follows Boerhaave's prescription to ride, she cannot think of going to Bermuda, where she understands there are nothing but rocks and rugged paths.

I am ever,

D^r S^r,

Y^r affec^t & hum^{le} Serv^t,

PERCIVAL.

Philip Percival² to Percival.

DUBLIN, 9th Nov. 1723.

DEAR BROTHER,

Perhaps you may wonder I have entertained you so little with an account of the debates in Parliament, but it was as little in my power, for in the Lord's

¹ [Hermann Boerhaave (1668—1738), a physician widely consulted in his time.]

² From my brother Percival. P.

House there is nothing to do, and the Commons are grown so retired, that they shut themselves up, and will let nobody in, and thus we know nothing till the votes appear, which I suppose Mr Payzant sends you.

I believe you are no stranger to Dr Berkeley's inclination for the Island of Bermuda, and for want of news I here send you some verses*, which a little nymph about five or six years old, dressed all up in flowers and myrtle, surprised him with at his chambers. As she was perfectly unknown to him and came alone, he had various conjectures in his mind what this meant; and upon asking her several questions, which she still answered in French and in ambiguous terms, he at last began to mistrust it was some French child designed to be left on his hands, and got his hat and made the best of his way down stairs.

Some curious people here have been looking sharp for the comet, and some have pretended to have discovered it, but others say they were mistaken; however, there was a meteor discerned last week, which appeared round and vastly larger than the moon, but as I did not see it myself, I cannot be particular in the description. It was seen about six o'clock.

I am afraid the change in the weather will not prove favourable for my sister's ordering what was recommended to her, and am heartily sorry she stands in need of it. We are all her well wishers, and the same to the children, who I hope are well.

Dear Brother, &c.,

PHILIP PERCIVAL.

* *To the Rev^d Dr Berkeley. The Humble Petition of Anne de la Terre.*

Dear Doctor, here comes a young virgin untainted
To your shrine at Bermuda, to be marry'd and
sainted :

I'me young and I'me soft, and am blooming and tender
 Of all that I have I make you surrender.
 My innocence led by the voice of your fame,
 To your person and virtue must put in its claim;
 And now I behold you, I truly believe
 That you're as like Adam as I am like Eve,
 Before the dire Serpent their virtue betray'd
 And made them to fly from the sun to the shade.
 But you, as in you a new race were begun,
 Are teaching to fly from the shade to the sun :
 For you in great goodness your friends are persuading
 To go and to live and be wise in your Eden.
 Oh! let me go with you ; Oh! pity my youth,
 Oh take me from hence, let me not lose my truth.
 Sure you, who have virtue so much in your mind,
 Can't think to leave me, who am Virtue, behind!
 If you make me your wife, Sir, in time you may
 fill a
 Whole town with our children, and likewise your villa.
 I famous for breeding, you, famous for knowledge,
 I'll found a whole nation, you'll found a whole col-
 lege.
 When many long ages in joys we have spent,
 Our souls we'll resign with the utmost content,
 And gently we'll sink beneath cypress and yew,
 You lying by me, and I lying by you.

Philip Percival to Percival.

DUBLIN, 24th April, 1724.

DEAR BROTHER,

Since your last, great alterations have hap-
 pened by the change of our government, so that I may
 say, that all my ill-boding fear in relation to my affair
 which has given you so much trouble, has at last
 ended just as I apprehended. But as his Grace¹ is

¹ Duke of Grafton. P.

now appointed Lord Chamberlayn, and has I am told no less than two hundred employments from £200 to £1200 p. ann., I think the least he can do is to give me one of them, as a proof that he was sincere in what he promised before.

I believe it may be wondered at in England that his Grace continues so long here, but the great number of livings and deaneries, which have lately become vacant by death or promotions, have occasioned such variety of schemes that I believe his Grace has not been a little perplexed how to dispose of them, the legion of candidates being many and very importunate. They certainly are good solicitors, and were you sometimes at the castle it would make you laugh to see the whole piazza crowded to that degree that Dr Berkeley was ashamed to be seen among them and used to retire to the garden. It was really comical to see long Northcote¹ stalking, and little Shadwell² waddling about whilst fat Dean Daniel³ was storming at Berkeley's having the Deanery of Derry, a man who he said had never declared himself, so that he could not tell what principles he held, where himself had declared himself in the worst of times vehemently: which (to do him justice) he certainly did constantly twice and thrice every day in Lucas's Coffee House, Sundays even not excepted. He was inveighing bitterly one day in this manner to the Bishop of Fernes, who let him run on for about half an hour, and then whispered him in the ear *Berkeley will have it for all that*, which made him rage ten times more.

PHILIP PERCIVAL.

¹ He died at last Dean of Cloyne, a contentious worthless man, Sept. 1730. P.

² Shadwell, a brother of Sir Jo. Shadwell, the physician, a contemptible creature, that lived by setting up an insurance office in lives, and had no literature, yet rose by the heat of party to be a Dean. P.

³ Dean Daniel in 1732 advanced to the best Deanery in Ireland, that of Down worth £1600 p. ann., and poetaster, as worthless as Dean Northcote. P.



George Berkeley, Dean of Derry

*Berkeley¹ to Percival.*TRIN. COLL. DUBLIN, 5th May, 1724.

MY LORD,

After a long silence which was purely occasioned by my not knowing what to say, and expecting every day to be able to say something with certainty of my affairs (which I flattered myself might not be disagreeable to one from whom I have received so many instances of favour and goodness), I can now tell your Lordship, that yesterday I received my patent for the best Deanery in this kingdom, that of Derry. The affair of Dromore² is still undecided, and likely to be so for some years, but it is now in other hands, God be praised.

I have had powerful competitors, who used many arts to undermine me: but two livings worth £700 per ann. happening to fall in the gift of the College, which the House, to further my promotion, was so kind as to put into the disposal of my Lord Duke, this gave a strong turn in my favour. I am very sensible how much the Duchess hath been my friend, and as sensible how much I am indebted for that to good Lady Percival.

This Deanery is said to be worth £1500 p. ann., but then there are four curates to be paid, and great charges upon entering, for a large house and offices, first fruits, patent, &c. which will consume the first year's profit, and part of the second. But as I do not consider it with an eye to enriching myself, so I shall be perfectly contented if it facilitates and recommends my scheme of Bermuda, which I am in hopes will meet with a better reception when it comes from one possessed of so great a Deanery. I am the fonder of Bermuda because I take it to be the likeliest means

¹ From Dr Berkeley that he is made Dean of Derry. P.

² The crown had presented Dr Berkeley to it, but the Bishop contested it with him at law. P.

under heaven to re-establish my Lady's health, which I know your just tenderness for her will put you on restoring by all possible methods. I intend to-morrow for the North in order to my instalment and taking possession. When that is over, I may trouble your Lordship with another letter, till when, I conclude, My Lord,

Y^r most, &c.,

GEORGE BERKELEY.

Percival to Berkeley.

CHARLTON, 26th May, 1724.

DEAR SIR,

I cannot easily express the satisfaction I received in the account you lately sent me of your promotion to the Deanery of Derry. I was very uneasy to see your preferment held so long in suspense, and knowing your desert every way far exceeded that of the other pretenders (so that there ought to have been no deliberation whom to prefer) I grew fearful that some powerful interest had prevailed or rather necessitated the Duke to give that most honourable and profitable vacancy to some other person, and the rather because he never actually promised it you. But now he has shewn the world he has a regard to merit, and also that those friends who applied to him in your favour have some interest with him; and 'tis a great pleasure to me to find I was not mistaken in his character, when I pronounced him a man of discernment and honour.

I waited on her Grace to thank her for her sincerity to you. She spoke a great deal in your commendation and expressed her satisfaction in having as she believes been some way assisting to you in this affair; for she

said you had some pretended friends who undertook to serve you with the Duke, and yet did you all the hurt they could; but she discovered their false dealing to him, and set all matters right. She did not name them, but seemed full of indignation, and could not forbear mentioning the same again to my wife.

I see you persist in your Bermuda scheme, which if it go on must owe its success to the Christian and disinterested view of the projector. But unless the Government encourage it, it will certainly be impossible for you to go through with it; for no private subject can support such a work when begun, unless the King commands the Governours in those parts to favour and protect it. I suppose when your affairs are settled in Ireland, this business will bring you over, and then I shall hope for the pleasure of your company at Charlton, where you have I can assure you as many friends as there are persons under my roof.

My wife is much obliged to you for your constant concern for her health, but says she must consider the Bermuda scheme over and over before she can fix her resolution to go so far, even for the recovery of health, which indeed is far from well. The rest of my family is I thank God in a good state, and my children proceed well in their studies. All give their service to you. And I am, &c.

PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

ELPHIN, 8th June, 1724.

MY LORD,

I am now on my return from Derry, where I have taken possession of my Deanery, and farmed out my tithe lands, &c. for £1250 a year. I am assured they are worth two hundred pounds per ann. more, but thought it better to have men of substantial fortunes engaged

for the punctual payment of the foregoing sum, than by keeping them in my own hands to subject myself to all that trouble, and all those cheats which Dissenters (whereof we have many about Derry) are inclined to practice towards the clergy of our Church.

The city of Londonderry is the most compact, regular, well built town, that I have seen in the King's Dominions, the town house (no mean structure) stands in the midst of a square piazza from which there are four principal streets leading to as many gates. It is a walled town, and has walks all round on the walls planted with trees, as in Padua. The Cathedral is the prettiest in Ireland. My house is a fashionable thing, not five years old, and cost eleven hundred pounds. The Corporation are all good churchmen, a civil people, and throughout English, being a colony from London. I have hardly seen a more agreeable situation, the town standing on a peninsula in the midst of a fine spreading lake, environed with green hills, and at a distance the noble ridge of Ennishawen mountains and the mighty rocks of Maghilligan form a most august scene. There is indeed much of the *gusto grande* in the laying out of this whole country, which recalls to mind many prospects of Naples and Sicily.

After all I may chance not to be twopence the richer for this preferment, for by the time I have paid for the house and first fruits, I hope I shall have brought the Bermuda project to an issue, which, God willing, is to be my employment this winter in London, where I long for the pleasure of waiting on your Lordship and good Lady Percival, to whom with the rest of the family I beg you to give my most humble and affectionate respects.

I remain,

&c.,

GEO. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*TRIN. COLL. DUB. 9th Sept. 1724.

MY LORD,

I am now, bless God, quite at ease from a cruel periodical cholic which seized me after my return from Derry. For several days it was very violent, but the loss of thirty-six ounces of blood with about a dozen purgings and vomitings, reduced both it and me to a very weak state. I have now and then inclinations of a relapse which hath made me entertain thoughts of going to Bath, Bristol, or Tunbridge. I am not yet determined which, but propose going the first opportunity for England, where I hope to find your Lordship, my Lady, and all your good family, if not so well as I could wish, at least in a way of being thoroughly recovered and established in good health by a year's or two years' residence in Bermuda, which I earnestly recommend to you. This I must own looks like a selfish proposal. But though I cannot deny that it would delight me beyond measure, yet I doubt not when I see you to prove by good arguments that your own and my Lady's interest is as much consulted in this project as my satisfaction. I have so many things to say on this head that if I once begun I should soon exceed the bounds of a letter, and shall therefore only add (with my best respects to your Lordship, my Lady, and all your family), that in the hopes of seeing you soon, I remain with the greatest sincerity,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obed^tand most obliged humble Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

Yesterday Wood's effigy was carried in procession by the mob through most of the streets of this town

in order to be hanged or burnt, but it is given out by them that the Lord Mayor hath reprieved him till Wednesday. It is hardly possible to express the indignation which all ranks of men shew on this occasion.

Philip Percival to Percival.

DUBLIN, 19th Jan. 1724/5.

Two or three days past, Ned Dering to our no little surprise enterd into the holy state of matrimony with one M^{rs} Jones, a widow, who has brought him £300 p. annum jointure and £3000 in money, which I hear he has taken care to have secured to him at least for life. I believe she is not very young, but as prudence was his motive I think he has done very well to make himself easy, and he seems perfectly well satisfied.

For a wonder, we have had two fair days which we have hardly known this two months, but we have an ugly spotted fever in town which has made havoc, many having got it and few escaped. One young lady a daughter of Cousin Doppins, the Clergyman, who was married but a few weeks, died of it, as did M^r Robin King, who likewise was married very lately, he was S^r Harry Kings brother, and was one of the lives in Harry Derings Patent.

Some time since we had a letter of D^r Berkeley in which he gave us an acc^t that his intended scheme for Bermundus met with great approbation and would certainly succeed to his wish. No doubt he has had some conversation with you on that subject, and I should be glad to know your opinion of it. No doubt 'tis a grand design and will not only prove a great means of propagating Christianity in the Western World, but will also be of the greatest service to the English interest thereby preventing the intrigues of

the Jesuits, who under the appearance of missionaries whose care was religion have spirited up the Indians to be our mortal enemies and do us all imaginable mischiefs. And certainly the Doctor deserves to be highly commended, who for a public good and the cause of religion would give up a Deanery, which is actually worth him 11 or 1200£ p. annum, to retire and labour when he might live here at his ease. I believe there are not many such to be found, though I believe several of the Fellows of our College here are determined to bear him company in his laudable undertaking, and I assure you they are none of the least ingenious or learned of our Society.

I shall desire you to give my most humble service to my Sister, who I am sorry to find is obliged to have recourse to laudanum.

My love to my nephew and nieces and believe me always

Dear Brother

Y^r most Obed^t & hum. Serv^t,

PH: PERCIVAL.

Percival to Philip Percival.

CHARLTON, 6 Feb^y 1724/5.

DEAR BROTHER,

.

I am always glad to hear of my Cosen Dering's success in the world, and particularly that Ned has married so well.

You desire to know my opinion of Dean Berkeley's resolution for Bermudas. It is I think a most commendable and rational scheme, deserving the good word and encouragement of all who wish well to Christianity, virtue, and good literature. I have been long a favourer of it, and design to contribute 200£. The reasons he gives in his Pamphlet for settling a College there rather than on the continent of America are not

to be answered. It is the healthfulest spot in the universe—not by his only but the accounts of all who have ever been there. The natives are likewise entirely free from luxury, and though very numerous, yet live cheap. My Lady Stapelton, who went thither for her health, and enjoyed it while she remained there, can never leave off commending, when put upon that subject. She says her house keeping during five months with twenty one in family cost but a hundred pounds. These advantages of a healthy climate, exemption from luxury, and cheapness of living, are all of the greatest importance to the education of youth. For the rest, I know not a better proof of the happiness of the situation than the number of inhabitants, who though they have but little trade, and consequently no great wealth, yet cannot be prevailed on to quit it, as we see people do in all other places on the like account. The richest man there has not above two hundred pounds a year, and of these down to the worth of a thousand pounds, there are as I have been informed about fifty families. Of all the numerous islands which compose the Bermudas, there are but five inhabited, and of them only one to any purpose, but in that one alone, which is but twenty-four miles long and a mile broad, there are many thousand inhabitants, and Dr Halley late Sec^y to the Royal Society told me that when he was there about 40 years ago the Governour mustered 2000 lusty white men under arms, the least 6 foot high, a number sufficient to defend themselves against any foreign power, the difficulty of entering their few harbours considered. So many inhabitants together with their fondness for the place has made there land 40 years purchase. The Doctor told me he was there the middle of June, and it was as in May with us. In short, I have wondered since I enquired about these islands, how it came to pass that I have not heard of any of our broken traders in South Sea returning thither for shelter, or to repair their fortunes. The greatest objection to the place as I found in a book

published several years ago is that those who once go thither never care to come back, or if they do, hanker after returning so as to make their life uneasy.

If my wife's cholick continues and physicians advise warmer climate it is not impossible but we may try that air; for my own particular, as I have no ambitious views to keep me in this part of the world, I form to my self the greatest pleasure that can be in enjoying my family with consummate health in a happy climate, in company of a set of ingenious, virtuous, and pious men, and with relations, or other friends whose notions and amusements fall in with my own. And I know not why in time that little spot may not become the Athens of the world, since the persons who intend to go are men every way qualified to raise learning to as high a pitch as we know it was in that of Greece.

The Dean is now busy in getting out his Charter, and intends when all things are prepared to set out April come twelvemonth.

As to the particulars of his scheme, which he and I have talked often over, I leave it to him to acquaint his friends, I shall only say, that it here meets with encouragement from all sorts of people.

I can say nothing as to Wood's patent, who, I do believe, has ceased coining for the present, but I fear your intelligence that his mint is broken and materials sold is not true. Our last security will be a permanent resolution not to take his half pence, and keep a watchful eye on all who when they think our vigour abates shall clandestinely endeavour to disperse them.

You have all kind services from hence. D. Dering desires his compliments to Ned on his marriage, as I do. Sign^r Ignatio, the Italian Painter, it seems is in Dublin. If you can do him any service I should be glad, for he is a very modest man and deserving in his way.

I am &c.,

PERCIVAL.

*Berkeley to Percival.*LONDON, 28th December, 1725.

MY LORD,

Nothing could be more elegant or suitable to my fancy than the present I have the honour to receive from your Lordship. I cannot pretend to thank you with the same politeness and good taste with which you confer your favours, and shall only say as often as I cast my eye on the great men of antiquity, I shall have the pleasure to think of your Lordship who was one of the few (*antiquis moribus*) that can appear without disadvantage in such company.

I wish your Lordship, my Lady, and all your good family, a happy new year, and as nothing can contribute to make it so more than her Ladyship's health, I shall for a new year's gift send you a receipt for curing or giving sudden ease to a fit of the cholic, which I learned the other day from the Bishop of Asaph. He assured me a clergyman in Wales had tried it on forty or fifty persons in very violent fits and never knew it once to fail. It is only drinking a pint of good fresh coffee. A lesser quantity may give ease, but this is said entirely to take away the pain and put an end to the fit. I knew that coffee is commonly thought to cause a trembling in the nerves, and yet I have known some very good drinkers of it, who never were affected with any such symptom. But allowing it to be prejudicial, it can only be so upon habitual drinking of it; and there is no medicine whatsoever that would not be prejudicial, if one was constantly to breakfast on it. Whereas if coffee be only taken medicinally now and then in a painful fit of the cholic, I am persuaded such a use of it cannot induce an ill habit on the nerves, nor be a hundredth part so dangerous as laudanum. This medicine was recommended in such strong terms, from so good a hand, and such manifold experience, that from the first moment

I heard of it, I was resolved to send you this account. I heartily wish it may be found useful to my Lady.

My long stay in town and great hurry of business had made fresh air and exercise necessary for my health. In this view I set out in September on a journey through eight or nine counties of England, I never travelled in worse roads or worse weather, so that all the advantage I got must be imputed to the motion. I doubt the same may be said of my Lady who at Paris is (as to the air) but one remove from the dirt and fog and smoke of London. Fine air and proper diversions together cannot be hoped for on this side Bermuda. Now I have mentioned Bermuda, I must acquaint your Lordship (who is so good a friend to it) that the subscriptions amount to £3400, though the town hath been very thin ever since I obtained the Charter. On the meeting of Parliament I have good hopes of seeing our affairs thrive. The desiring of that and His Majesty's absence have been such drawbacks, that I begin to fear it will not be possible for me to visit the Island this spring. I conclude with my humblest service and best wishes to you all.

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's

most obed^t and most obliged Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

Percival to Berkeley.

PARIS, 29th Dec. O.S. 1725.

DEAR SIR,

I lately sent you the impressions of some seals in the French King's collection, which being most of them good, though trifles, there is some curiosity in them, and may give you some pleasure.

You having expressed a liking to such things when I saw you at Charlton, I ventured to send them to you. They are left for you at my house in Pall Mall.

I have heard with more joy than I can express the good progress you daily make in your Bermuda design, and particularly the favourable intentions Mr Lesley has to encourage it by giving the greatest part of his fortune to it. I should be glad to know from yourself that this is true, and with it what encouragement you have hitherto received from others. I have not been idle to recommend your scheme to the English gentry here, though without success, but perhaps when they return to England and see how well it is approved there they may incline to do their parts.

We have passed here some months and shall remain till the spring when we propose to leave the kingdom and travel eastward, but whither is not settled. My wife spends her time as agreeably here as can be, considering she is at a distance from her relations and friends. Her cholic has been well to a miracle for two months past or more, so that she has laid aside her laudanum. But two colds, which seized her one after the other, confine her to her chamber.

If you are curious in the controversy now on foot concerning the validity of an English ordination, the book wrote by Father Courayer our side, and the answer made by Father le Quiet, (both which I understand are translated into English), will entertain you. The former tells me he shall reply to the other about May, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury has furnished him with very good materials, and he does not at all doubt setting the account in so clear a light as to satisfy all reasonable men that our ordinations are good. Indeed his first book has done it sufficiently, but his answerers having raised several critical objections against the authorities which he made use

of to prove his point, as mistake of places, days, &c., and withal trumped up an old scandal that the basis of all our proof, the Lambeth Registry, is a piece forged in King James' time to invalidate the Nag's Head Narration, which our adversaries in Queen Elizabeth's reign maintained to be all the ordination our first Bishops had, Father Courayer thinks himself obliged to shew the weakness of these objections.

We have no other public news here than the breach between the two great ministers, Mons^r le Duc and the Bishop of Trejus. 'Tis patched up for the present, but probably will not hold long.

You have the affectionate service of my wife and children. And I am ever,

Dear Sir,

Yours &c.,

PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, 10th Feb. 1725/6.

MY LORD,

I am now in a great hurry of business preparing an interest in the House of Commons against the introducing my affair of St Christopher's among them. The spirits of the ministry have been hitherto and are still so entirely possessed with fleets, subsidies, &c., that it hath not yet been thought proper to insist on that point, which however I hope will be soon carried, there being very good interest made among malcontents, and the Court being quite for it.

It is this hurry (which hardly allows me a moment to myself) that hath so long delayed my acknowledgment of your Lordship's letter, &c. In it you desire to be informed by me what there is in the report you have heard of Mr Lesley's going to Bermuda and

bestowing a good part of his fortune on that design. All I can say is, that this gentleman upon reading the proposal was struck with it and expressed himself in words to that effect. His affairs are, I understand, at present in some disorder. As soon as those are settled I believe he may entertain thoughts of going to Bermuda and be a benefactor. In the interim nothing is done of what you heard was performed.

The subscriptions amount to about four thousand pounds. Lord Palmerston¹ is desirous that nine hundred and odd pounds in his hands should be disposed of to this our college for breeding up young negroes agreeable to Mr Delon's will. The trustees for directing the disposal thereof are your Lordship, Dr Bray, Mr Hales, his brother, and Mr Beleitha. The majority of these are of Lord Palmerston's mind, and your Lordship's concurrence hath been applied for.

You have annexed a poem* wrote by a friend of mine with a view to the scheme. Your Lordship is desired to shew it to none but of your own family, and suffer no copy to be taken of it.

I am glad to hear your family, and particularly my Lady, are so well.

I am, My Lord,
Y^r Lordship's most obed^t
and most humble Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

*AMERICA OR THE MUSE'S REFUGE.

A Prophecy.

The muse, offended at this age, these climes
Where nought she found fit to rehearse,
Waits now in distant lands for better times,
Producing subjects worthy verse.

¹ [Viscount Palmerston (1673?—1757) was greatly interested in Berkeley's project.]

In happy climes where from the genial sun
 And virgin earth fair scenes ensue,
 Such scenes as shew that fancy is outdone,
 And make poetic fiction true.
 In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
 Where nature guides and virtue rules,
 Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
 The pedantry of Courts and schools.
 There shall be sung another golden age,
 The rise of Empire and of arts,
 The good and great inspiring epic rage
 The wisest heads and noblest hearts.
 Not such as Europe breeds in her decay,
 Such as she bred when fresh and young,
 When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
 By future poets shall be sung.
 Westward the course of Empire takes its way,
 The four first acts already past,
 A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
 The world's great effort is the last.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, 17th May, 1726¹.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship hath every way been so good
 a friend to St Paul's College in Bermuda, that I think
 it my duty to acquaint you with the success which
 hath of late attended it, the Commons of Great Britain
 having last Wednesday voted an address to His
 Majesty that he would be pleased to make such grant
 out of the lands of St Christopher's for the endowment
 thereof as to him shall seem proper. This point was
 carried in a full house with but two negatives, and
 those pronounced in so low a voice as shewed that
 the persons who gave them were ashamed of what
 they were doing. I am heartily tired of soliciting for
 many weeks this point with all the diligence, patience,

¹ Dean Berkeley answered 6th June from the Hague. P.

and skill, that I was master of; and am not less pleased to see it carried contrary to all men's expectations, who thought it a hopeless affair, first, because the like step had never been taken in any reign for any college before, and secondly, because great interest and opposition had been made against it from several quarters and upon different principles, motives, and surmises, some whereof had got into the heads of very considerable persons.

I am exceedingly pleased at the good effects which the change of air hath had upon my Lady, not only as it hath bettered her health, but likewise as it must have improved her disposition towards Bermuda, by giving her Ladyship to understand what may be expected from the best air in the world. Let what will happen I am resolved not to quit the pleasing hopes that I shall one day see you both in that happy Island. In the meantime it would be a great credit and ornament to our College, as well as a particular pleasure to myself, if we had a youth of such an excellent genius as your eldest son to begin with; but if this may not be hoped for, I put in an early claim to Master George, and beg and insist upon it, that you will not refuse me the pleasure, and the joy of assisting and forwarding the fine parts which already shine forth in him, and the rather because he seems to be of a constitution that should be likely to improve much in that climate.

I am (with my best respects and service to you all),

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obed^t

and most obliged Servant,

GEO. BERKELEY.

This is my third since I had the honour to receive a letter from your Lordship.

I had almost forgot to tell your Lordship that yesterday a Report was made of his Majesty's answer to the Commons Address. It is very gracious.

*Percival to Berkeley.*HAGUE, 6th June, 1726.

DEAR SIR,

If frequently informing myself of you and your affairs, if the having you always in my mind and being more than ordinarily solicitous for the success of your excellent design, afford any apology for my not writing so long, I know nobody has more candour than yourself to allow it. You who can distinguish better than any one the difference between a fixt and unalterable esteem and friendship and the outward profession of it, which whether by mouth or letter is often false and generally dubious. But when I consider that I am not now on even terms with you, but indebted for three letters running, I fear you have condemned me for my silence so long, and that I must reason your own way to recover your good opinion: that is, I must think it essential to our intimacy to write more punctually, and give that outward mark of my inward esteem.

The anxiety your affair gave me while depending in Parliament is well paid by the pleasure I receive in hearing it has succeeded at last so well, and not only so well, but so honourably; for surely to have an Address from all the Commons of Great Britain *nem. cont.* in its favour is the greatest honour a matter of this nature can receive, wherein party or the private interest of those who concurred in it could have no sort of share.

As to my son George's going with you, get my wife's consent and you have mine. I am very certain he will be better educated under you than anywhere, and I know his morals would run less hazard of being spoiled; you will then ask why he is not to go, his

mother must answer, and I am afraid she will be obstinate enough to delay it till she hears you are settled there to your content and have opened school.

Now as to ourselves, we arrived from Flanders two days ago, something fatigued with irregular hours of travelling and the great heats, but I thank God are tolerably well. To-day we all dined with Mr Finch, our Ambassador, who told me last night a piece of news which may have great consequences: that the Duke of Bourbon had received a message from the King of France¹, importing His Majesty had no farther occasion for his service, but that he should forthwith retire to Chantilly without taking leave of the Queen.

I leave to reason on this sudden fall of a Minister well disposed to our interest, and with affectionate services of my family, which they desire me to send you.

Dr Sir, &c.,

PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

LONDON, 24th June, 1726².

MY LORD,

I was truly grieved on all accounts by the late sad but common accident³ in your family which by this time I hope your Lordship's christian temper and good sense have got the better of. I am nevertheless

¹ [Louis XV (1710—1774) had as his first minister the Duke of Bourbon.]

² Dean Berkeley's letter rec'd at Amsterdam 29th. P.

³ Death of son George who died 10th June and was buried by his sister in St James' Church. P.

apprehensive that my Lady (considering her weak nerves) may be much affected by it, though I dare say you will omit no topic either from religion or reason to induce her to bear it with proper resignation.

I have lately had the honour of a letter from your Lordship overflowing with that goodness which is so natural to you I have experienced too long to doubt of. My observing that I had writ two or three times without receiving any answer was not meant to upbraid your Lordship in any sort, but only to signify that I had not been unmindful of my duty in case my letters were not come to hand, as it sometimes happens in foreign posts. Your patronage of and concern for the Bermuda affair justified my troubling you now and then with some short account of its progress, which is at present at a stand, and likely to continue so till Sir Robert Walpole returns from Norfolk, soon after which I hope the grant addressed for by the Commons will be perfected.

Several years since your Lordship was so good as to supply me with sixty guineas, which I am sensible should have been restored before this time, but the truth is, the effects of Mrs Van Homrigh are not yet disposed of, nor all her debts paid, there being a suit depending with Mr Partinton which puts a stop to that affair which will fall much short of what was expected. Moreover, I was obliged to pay about eight hundred pounds for my Deanery house, together with first fruits and other expences upon my coming into that preferment: all which, as likewise my having been long engaged at law, and lying under a necessity of providing for some who are very near to me and depend upon me, hath sunk my affairs lower than people imagine.

Your Lordship will be so good as to accept this plea for my not returning your favour sooner. I am now I thank God in a capacity of doing it without any inconvenience; and therefore beg a line from you to

direct me where to pay the abovementioned sum, which I am ready to return with all acknowledgment, and thanks, from, my Lord,

Y^r Lordship's

Most obed^t and most obliged

humble Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

I beg the favour of a line by next post being impatient to know how my Lady bears her misfortune. Pray present my humble Service to her Ladyship and to all your good family.

Berkeley to Percival.

GREENWICH, 3rd Sept. 1728.

MY LORD,

I think myself obliged before I set sail from Europe to take leave of your Lordship and express my sincere gratitude for all your favours, my being withheld from doing this in person is no small mortification to me though perhaps it would have been greater to have done it, taking leave being in my opinion the most disagreeable instance of good manners that custom obliges us to. To-morrow we sail down the river. Mr James and Mr Dalton go with me. So doth my wife, a daughter of the late Chief Justice Forster, whom I married since I saw your Lordship. I chose her for the qualities of her mind and her unaffected inclination to books. She goes with great cheerfulness to live a plain farmer's life, and wear stuff of her own spinning wheel, and for her encouragement have assured her that from henceforward there shall never be one yard of silk bought for the use of myself, herself, or any of our family.

Her fortune was two thousand pounds originally, but travelling and exchange have reduced it to less than fifteen hundred English money. I have placed that, and about six hundred pounds of my own, in the South Sea Annuities, as your Lordship will perceive by the enclosed letter of Attorney which I take the liberty to send you. I design to give your Lordship no farther trouble by it than one journey in a year into the City; and that only to such time as I can find means of laying it out to advantage where I am going. Your Lordship's goodness and readiness to serve your friends which I have so frequently experienced have drawn this trouble upon you and prevent any further apology.

My most humble respects and best wishes attend my Lady, your whole family, and the good company at your house. That God may preserve your Lordship in health and happiness is the sincere hearty prayer of

Your Lordship's

Most obedient humble Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

If your Lordship should at any time favour me with a line, please direct to Dean Berkeley at Rhode Island, near Boston, and enclose the letter in a cover to Thomas Corbett, Esq. at the Admiralty Office in London, who will further it by the first opportunity.

Berkeley to Percival.

NEWPORT IN RHODE ISLAND, 7th Febr, 1728/9¹.

MY LORD,

Though I am at present in no small hurry and have been so ever since my landing with visits and business of several kinds, yet I would not omit the

¹ Dean Berkeley's letter rec'd in April, answ'd 25th April. P.

first opportunity of paying my duty to your Lordship, and acquainting you with our safe arrival in this Island. We came last from Virginia, where I received many unexpected as well as undeserved honours from the Governour and principal inhabitants. The same civil kind treatment attends us here. We were a long time blundering about the ocean before we reached Virginia, but our voyage from thence hither was as speedy and prosperous as could be wished. Mr James who proposeth to continue in Virginia till spring, and Mr Dalton who pursued his journey to this place by land, will both repent of their choice, when they find us arrived so long before them. I shall soon (I hope) be able to give your Lordship a more particular account of things. For the present I shall only say that this Island wants only your Lordship's family and a few more of my friends to make it the most agreeable place I ever saw. And (that which pleases me beyond all things) there is a more probable prospect of doing good here than in any other part of the world. I am so fully convinced of this, that (were it in my power) I should not demur one moment about situating our College here. But no step can be taken herein without consent of the Crown, and I shall not apply for that till his Majesty's bounty from St Christopher's is paid to Dr Clayton, till which time this design should be kept private.

I took the liberty to trouble your Lordship with a Letter of Attorney which Dr Clayton was to put into your hands relating to my stock in the South Sea Annuities. It occurs to me that it is possible you may once more travel abroad into France or Italy, in which case I beg the favour of you to sell my said Annuities and receive the dividend due thereupon at that time, and place the whole in some known banker's hands making it payable to my order. Mr Hoare, of all others, I should choose; but as the contributor's money belonging to our College of Bermuda is in his hands, and as I would have my private stock entered into

the banker's books under a distinct article as my own money, in order to prevent any confusion, I must request your Lordship to be particular with him on that head, if the money be put into his hands. And you will be pleased to let me know his partner's names that I may draw in form, for I intend to purchase land in this country. Your Lordship's usual goodness will pardon this trouble.

The post is just going out so I conclude with my best wishes and respects to my Lady Percival and your whole family in which I include Mr Dering.

My Lord,

Y^r most obed^t and obliged humble Serv^t,

G. BERKELEY.

I shall hope for a line from your Lordship.

Since I wrote and sealed the enclosed I have heard something which makes it highly expedient for me to draw for the money which I left in the South Sea Annuities, and must therefore request the favour of your Lordship to sell the same out of hand and place it together with dividend due thereupon in a sure banker's hand, and to send me as soon as possible directions how to draw for it. I shall ever acknowledge this with the many other obligations I owe your Lordship. If your Lordship will be so good as to send a duplicate of the said directions, one by the Admiralty and the other by Mr Newman's conveyance (to whom my humble service), it will be the likelier to come to my hands.

*Berkeley to Percival.*NEWPORT, 28th March, 1729¹.

MY LORD,

Sometime I wrote to your Lordship requesting the favour of you to sell my South Sea Annuities and place the money in a banker's hand making it payable to my order, and if in Mr Hoare's to see it put into a distinct article from the Bermuda accounts, to prevent confounding my private money with that of the College. I know not whether my letter arrived, and therefore repeat the same request by the opportunity of a gentleman, who I am just told is going from Boston to be ordained in England. As he intends to return I shall hope for a line from your Lordship by him with directions how to draw for my money. You see my Lordship the genuine effects of your great goodness is trouble to yourself and benefit to your friends; though if I had known what I now do, I should have avoided trespassing on your Lordship's good nature and brought my money in specie with me, which would have been more to my advantage.

I have now some experience of this place, and can tell your Lordship the climate is like that of Italy north of Rome, and in my opinion not quite so cold, though this season has been reckoned colder than ordinary. The land is pleasantly diversified with hills, vales, and rising grounds. Here are also some amusing rocky scenes. There are not wanting several fine rivulets and groves. The sea, too, mixed with capes and adjacent islands, makes very delightful prospects. But I forget myself and am running the risk of being thought romantic, though I assure you I write much below the truth. The town is prettily built, contains about five thousand souls, and hath a very fine harbour. The people industrious, and though less orthodox,

¹ Dean Berkeley's letter rec'd 16 May, answered 14 June. P.

I cannot say they have less virtue (I am sure they have more regularity) than those I left in Europe. They are indeed a strange medley of different persuasions, which nevertheless all agree in one point, viz. that the Church of England is the second best. Mr Honyman, the only Episcopal clergyman in this Island, in whose house I now am, is a person of very good sense and merit on all accounts, much more than I expected to have found in this place.

I must send my letter by this morning's post to Boston, so have time to say no more but that I am and ever shall be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged and

most obed^t humble Servant,

GEO. BERKELEY.

My best respects to my Lady and all your family. I long to know how you all do, Mr Dering, &c. and what is become of Père Courayer, to whom pray my humble service.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 25th April, 1729¹.

DEAR SIR,

The news of your safe arrival at Rhode Island gives all your friends here unspeakable pleasure, and the more so that a current report had obtained that you were lost in your passage. I hope as Providence has preserved you so far you will live to perfect the great work you are upon, and with long health enjoy the satisfaction that will arise from it.

¹ To Dean Berkeley on Rhode Island. P.

I suppose by your design of buying lands where you are that you are determined to fix the College in Rhode Island, which, by what I have heard of the dismal effects of a tempest some months ago on Bermudas, may be the most eligible place of the two, and I should hope the Government will not scruple the change of the place, when you shall represent your reasons in the strong light you are so capable of doing.

I obeyed your commands as soon as I was able, and have sold your £2000 South Sea Annuities for £2047 10^s 0^d. The charge of the brokerage came to £2. 10. 0, so I have placed the remaining £2045. 0. 0 with Mr Benjamin Hoare and Company, who told me he would make a separate article for you under the head of Dr George Berkeley's private account of money, to distinguish it from the other articles entitled 'Subscription money to Bermudas.' There was no difficulty or objection I could see in it, or made by him, and he will pay this money to your order, drawing on Benj. Hoare and Company and mentioning it to be the money on your private account. His partners are Henry Hoare and Christopher Arnold.

I believe you are very little solicitous how affairs go in Europe, other than what regards your College, and indeed I have little to send you. What I know is, that the Parliament have called for an account of the lands of St Christopher sold. So on another occasion you will be informed what progress has been made therein, and how near you approach to receiving your £20,000.

As to public affairs, there came an account this week that the King of Spain is willing to come into our terms, provided the Allies of Hanover will prevail on the Emperor to consent that Don Carlos be immediately agreed for successor to the State of Florence, supposing the present Duke should die issueless.

You have most affectionate services from all my family, who with me desire their humble service to Mrs Berkeley, and the rest of your fellow voyagers.

If you have any further commands I desire you will not spare me, for on all occasions I shall be ready to the utmost to shew myself what I ever was from the time of our first acquaintance to the end of my life.

D^r S^r,

Your, &c.,

PERCIVAL.

I must tell you that I cannot receive your dividend on the £2000 bill until after the 23rd of May. When that is paid I will do by it as by the Annuity I have sold.

I send you a duplicate of this letter by Mr Newman's packet.

W. Byrd to Percival.

VIRGINIA, 10th June, 1729.

MY LORD,

Though I have not done myself the honour to write to your Lordship since my last voyage to this country, yet it was impossible for me not to enquire after yours and my Lady's health by every opportunity.

I had once the pain to understand you were dangerously ill, nor was my concern for myself alone, but for your family, your country and for mankind. But blessed be God you recovered that sickness, to the great joy of your friends, who are at least as many as you have acquaintances. I cannot but figure to myself the affliction my Lady was in at the apprehension of losing the best husband in the world. But I hope when that agony of grief was removed by your recovery all her other complaints vanished, as they tell us smaller distempers are often carried off by the cure of a greater, that shakes the whole frame, and threatens a dissolution. And if that has frightened away her

complaint, I dare say your Lordship will esteem this illness one of the greatest blessings that ever befell you.

About two months ago Dean Berkeley put into this country, on his way to Rhode Island, where he is gone to purchase some lands that may supply his intended College at Bermudas with provisions. I had not the pleasure of seeing him by reason his stay was exceeding short. He only dined with the Governour, and went out of town in the evening. However, he visited our College, and was very well pleased with it. When the Dean's project was first communicated to me by your Lordship, I took the liberty to call it a very romantic one. It sounds very well to convert the Indians, and to come to Bermudas, and meet them three fourths of the way for that pious design, but when he comes to put this visionary scheme in practice, he will find it no better than a religious frenzy. And I may venture to say so much to your Lordship, that the Dean is as much a Don Quixote in zeal, as that renowned knight was in chivalry. Is it not a wild undertaking to build a college in a country where there is no bread, nor anything fit for the sustenance of man, but onions and cabbage? Indeed the inhabitants are healthy, but they owe this happiness to a scarcity of everything which obliges them to a necessary temperance. Their air is pure indeed, but it is made so by a perpetual succession of storms and hurricanes. Then when this college is built, where will the Dean find Indians to be converted? There are no Indians at Bermudas, nor within two hundred leagues of it upon the continent, and it will need the gift of miracles to persuade them to leave their country and venture themselves upon the great ocean, on the temptation of being converted. I know but one way in the world to procure Indians for this purpose: the Dean must have the command of half a dozen regiments, with which he or one of his professors in the quality of Lieutenant General must make a descent

upon the coast of Florida, and take as many prisoners as he can. This will be altogether as wise, and as meritorious, as the Holy War used to be of old, and then if those Gentiles will not be converted by fair means, he may take the French way, and dragoon them into Christianity. Nor will your Lordship think this extravagant, considering that a wild scheme in order to be consistent with itself, should have wild measures to carry it on. At least the Dean seems to think so, if one may judge by the step he has lately taken. He is, as I mentioned before, sailed to Rhode Island, to purchase land to supply his college with bread and other provisions. Now Rhode Island is more than as far again from Bermudas as Virginia; the lands not half so cheap, nor half so good. The climate is so cold that it will not produce Indian corn, the proper food for Indians, and very often not wheat, insomuch that they frequently send to purchase it here. With all these disadvantages the Dean is gone to make a purchase in that northern country, in contradiction to the ordinary rules of prudence. From all which I gather that it is below men of great parts, and deep learning, to walk in the beaten road, or act according to the customary methods of management recommended by common sense and experience of mankind. And though I would choose them to converse with sooner than any other, yet they should be the last I would employ in any affairs that require action and knowledge of the world. And I wish the good Dean may not find at last that Waller really kidnapped him over to Bermudas and the project he has been drawn into will prove in every part of it poetical.

My curiosity has lately made me undertake an expedition in which I endured abundance of fatigue. I suffered myself to be named a commissioner for running a line betwixt this country and Carolina. I attended the surveyors from the ocean to the Appalachian mountains and upon measuring the distance

found it in a direct course two hundred and forty-five miles. This service took one up sixteen weeks by reason of the very difficult ways we had to go through. Like Norway mice we went straight forward through thick and thin. The worst of all was a dreadful bog of vast extent, called the Dismal, being thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth where we past it. No human creature ever ventured to cross it before, and we found it so intolerable, that I believe no one will ever do it after us. The exhalations that rise out of it infect all the adjacent country, inasmuch that like the Lake Avernus the birds do not venture to fly over it. The ground of this bog is all a quagmire trembling under the feet of those that walk upon it, and every impression is instantly filled with water. Whenever our people made a fire, so soon as the crust of leaves and trash was burnt through, the coals sunk down into a hole, and were instantly extinguished. I don't believe there is anything in Ireland like it. In our way we forded several rivers, one of which, being the south branch of Roanoke, was the most beautiful stream I ever saw. The banks of it were fringed with tall canes which are perpetually green. The water was as clear as liquid crystal, the bottom gravelly, and spangled very thick with flakes of mother of pearl, that dazzled our eyes, and the sand on either shore sparkled with the same shining substance. Here and there a rock reared its head to the surface, over which the water murmured perpetually. I was so delighted with this river that I have purchased a large tract of land lying upon it. A finer country I never saw, nor do I believe the world can afford than that lying near the mountains. The land is rich, the climate mild, the water clear, all the woods full of timber, and the hills full of marble and alabaster. Did the poor people in the old world, that groan under tyranny and priesthood, know how happy a retreat they might find here, it would not long lie uninhabited. But men are so wedded to the place of their nativity that they

rather choose want and oppression at home than liberty and affluence abroad.

I wish your Lordship all the happiness that health and a mind conscious of a thousand good natured and generous actions can make you. And may my Lady never feel any pain, but what her compassion for the miserable and afflicted gives her. And may Mr Percival and the rest of your fireside copy out the fine qualities of their parents, and if possible improve upon them. I am with all possible respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obed^t hum^{le} Serv^t,

W. BYRD.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 12th June, 1729.

DEAR SIR,

The 25th of April last I writ you an account that your £2000 South Sea Annuities were sold and put into Mr Hoare's hands. I made a duplicate and sent one as you desired by Mr Newman's conveyance, and the other I gave to Mr Corbett. I cannot doubt their coming to you safe. I had for your Annuities £2045 exclusive of the charge of brokerage. I have since received the interest due on them, amounting to £80, which I likewise paid to Mr Hoare, and is with the rest put into a separate article under the head of your private account to distinguish it from the subscription money. You are to draw on Benj. Hoare and Company, and so mention it when you draw as money on your private account. His partners are Henry Hoare and Christopher Arnold.

Your second letter dated 23rd March was delivered to me by the gentleman who came to take orders.

You desired me to write by him when he returned, but there was too great uncertainty of our seeing one another, and therefore I told him I would not trouble him to call, but would write by Mr Corbett or Newman's packet.

Your purchasing in Rhode Island is no secret, but I was the last to own it. A friend of yours mentioned it at Court to some company of which I was one, and was more particular in the acres bought and money laid out and profitableness of your bargain than I knew before.

The few I have conversed with on the subject of your voyage think Rhode Island a better place than Bermuda to fix your College in, but what prospect there is of getting the £20,000, your friends employed therein know best. A good deal of the St Christopher money is come in.

You write so agreeably of the face of the country and climate, and the manners of the people, that almost you persuade me to be a Rhodian. I hear you have already preached to the Quakers and that they come to our Church to hear you, acknowledging you to be an inspired man of God, who preach by the Spirit and are come so far without interest to pour out the word. Should you be able to do no more than bring them over, it were a service to religion worth your voyage, and what will be a consolation to you if your primary view should miscarry, but God forbid it should, and I cannot believe so great, and pious, disinterested, undertaking will want the assistance of God or man.

Our Parliament have been up some time and passed a great many good laws: two for the relief of prisoners for debt who now come out to the number of 30,000 as the lowest reckoners put it, nor can new debtors be confined hereafter without a weekly allowance made them by their creditors. By another law we have regulated the number of attorneys and cut off the practice of those who are not regularly educated. We have passed also a law for better paving the

streets, and lighting them, another good one against perjury and one to prevent bribery in elections which cuts it up by the roots. This last was hard fought, and we carried it by two votes. Our committee for visiting the gaols has got great honour, and we have delicted most crying abuses in the fleet and Marshalsea prisons. Next year the committee will be revived and we shall go on with the others. Huggins who was the warden of the fleet has been tried for murder committed on a debtor there and a special verdict found against him. Bambridge his successor was also tried for the murder of another debtor but acquitted. However he still lies in Newgate to be tried for robbery.

As to peace we are still under great uncertainty, but a large fleet under Sir Charles Wager is speedily to sail and as we conceive to the Mediterranean, the Spaniards having got together a good number of ships for some design of importance. Nevertheless, it is believed that we shall have a peace before winter.

All my family desire their humble service to you and your Lady and the gentlemen with you; and I hope I may now wish you joy of Mrs Berkeley's being safely delivered. My sister Dering has been long out of order and I know not what to think of it. Her case puzzles the doctors. Daniel is in the old way, making bloody water, and pursuing his interest at Court where yet he has got nothing; but he is in high grace with the Prince from which something must come. My wife still complains of the cholic and uses her laudanum. We go this summer to the Scarborough waters in Yorkshire from which journey I hope she will find benefit.

Young Mr Southwell is to be married to a daughter of my Lady Sands with £10000 portion down, and £1500 a year settled on him immediately, beside her fortune.

I am, Yrs &c.,

PERCIVAL.

*Berkeley to Percival.*NEWPORT IN RHODE ISLAND, 27th June, 1729.

MY LORD,

As I had reason to believe that before this time the St Christopher's money would have been returned into the exchequer, and as we were alarmed in these parts with speedy expectation of a war, I intended to have drawn my money out of the South Sea Annuities into this part of the world, which in that case would have been more convenient for my affairs. But the rumour of a war daily decreasing and no account being come that the St Christopher money is yet paid into the Treasury, I think it more advisable to let my money remain where it was. In case therefore it is not already taken out, I desire it may remain in the South Sea Annuities. The trouble I give your Lordship on this subject is I am confident more uneasy to myself than it is to you whose ready and obliging goodness I have so often experienced.

I am here in no small anxiety waiting the event of things. I understand that in Ireland they have been told it is my resolution to settle here at all events. This report I am concerned at and would have it by all means discouraged, for it may give a handle to the Treasury for withholding the £20,000, and at the same time disgust my associates. The truth is, I am not in my own power, not being at liberty to act without the concurrence as well of the Ministry as of my associates. I cannot therefore place the College where I please; and though on some accounts I did and do still think it would more probably be attended with success if placed here than in Bermuda, yet if the Government and the gentlemen engaged with me should persist in the old scheme, I am ready to go thither, and with God's blessing actually shall do so as soon as I hear the money is received and my associates

are arrived. This is the truth and I beg the favour of your Lordship to mention it as often as occasion offers. Before I left England I was reduced to a difficult situation. Had I continued there, the report would have obtained (which I found beginning to spread) that I had dropped the design after it had cost me and my friends so much trouble and expense. On the other hand, if I had taken leave of my friends, even those who assisted and approved my undertaking would have condemned my coming abroad before the King's bounty was received. This obliged me to come away in the private manner that I did, and to run the risk of a tedious winter voyage. Nothing less would have convinced the world that I was in earnest, after the report I knew was growing to the contrary.

For my amusement in this new world I have got a little son whom my wife nurses.

I shall trouble your Lordship no farther than with my best wishes for yourself and family to whom I am,

A most devoted and most
humble Servant,

GEO. BERKELEY.

Under cover to your Lordship's most humble
Servant,

HENRY NEWMAN.

Berkeley to Mr Newman.

RHODE ISLAND, NEWPORT, 27th June, 1729.

SIR,

Since my arrival in this island I received the favour of a packet from you, which I long since acknowledged in a letter consigned to Mr Marshal, who I doubt not hath forwarded the same to you. It

is needless to send you any account of this place or climate, which you are so well acquainted with. I shall only observe that upon the whole it seems to me a proper situation for a college, though it must be owned that provisions are neither so plenty nor so cheap as I apprehended. And as to the inhabitants, I find them divided in their opinions, those in the country, or (as they are termed here) the men in the woods, being grossly ignorant and uneducated, are not a little alarmed at the coming of strangers, and form many fears and ridiculous conclusions thereupon. The inhabitants of the town of Newport, particularly the Churchmen, are much better disposed towards us.

I have wrote to some friends in England to take the proper steps for procuring a translation of the College from Bermuda to Rhode Island as soon as the £20,000 arising by sale of lands in St Christopher's is paid to our order, and I have furnished them with the weightiest reasons that occurred for so doing, but I don't think it advisable to make this proposition, or say anything about it before the money is received. In the meantime I am understood to remain here till I hear of the said payment, and the arrival of my associates in Bermuda where I am to join them, which indeed is the truth of the case, supposing I should not be able to bring about the translation before-mentioned.

Believing your packets are taken particular care of, I have enclosed some letters under your cover, which I beg the favour of you to forward as directed, which will be an obligation upon,

Sir,

Your most obed^t hum. Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

*Berkeley to Percival.*RHODE ISLAND, 30th Aug. 1729.

MY LORD,

I congratulate your Lordship in the share you had in redressing the villanies in the Fleet Prison, and was much pleased to find you recorded in the monthly Register, (which with us supplies the place of all other newspapers), as a principal agent in that most laudable piece of justice and charity. At the same time I return my humble thanks to your Lordship for the favour of your letter and your goodness in taking my money out of the fund and placing it in Mr Hoare's hands: mine which I wrote to prevent your Lordship's giving yourself that trouble having it seems been sent too late. I am ashamed to desire your Lordship to put it again into the Annuities, but if this were done I should think it a great favour and be very cautious how I gave you any further trouble.

The truth is we were alarmed here by accounts of a war with Spain and that the stocks would fall, which alarm being since abated I have altered my design, so that I am now desirous to have interest for my money, and the rather because I have been at great expense since I saw you. And I know no other way of laying out my money but in the public fund, which I am told will be as secure at least as any private bankers. Rather than to break the sum of £2000 (which I would have secured for my family) I have got credit for 600 pounds at the legal interest, which Mr Prior¹ is to pay out of my Deanery. This enables me to perfect the purchase of my land and house in this Island, which purchase in case the College should not go on will be much to my loss.

¹ [Thomas Prior, college companion and lifelong friend of Berkeley.]

For lands within this Island being very well cleared and near an excellent harbour are very dear, at an average about ten pounds sterling an acre, and it was expedient I should buy lands fit to produce provisions, and near a good seaport where they may be easily exported to Bermuda for the supply of our College. True it is that on the continent within this government uncleared lands may be bought very cheap, even for a twentieth part of the above-mentioned price; but the clearing of them would be very expensive, and require much time, and in the interim they produce nothing. Though if they were left to lie till the colony fills, without any pains or any expense bestowed upon them, they would in time grow very valuable, and I should think this the best way of laying out my money in case the College were settled in these parts. But where it will be settled, or when is a point still in the dark, nor by what I can find likely to be cleared during the present uncertainty of public affairs. I doubt not the Treasury is backward in all payments; but I cannot, I will not, understand that they can form any resolve to withhold a grant conveyed in such legal and authentic manner by His Majesty's patent under the broad seal, though it may possibly be postponed for some time. In the interim I must patiently wait the event and endeavour to be of some use where I am.

For the first three months I resided at Newport and preached regularly every Sunday, and many Quakers and other sectaries heard my sermons in which I treated only those general points agreed by all Christians. But on Whit-Sunday (the occasion being so proper) I could not omit speaking against that spirit of delusion and enthusiasm which misleads those people: and though I did it in the softest manner and with the greatest caution, yet I found it gave some offence, so bigoted are they to their prejudices. Till then they almost took me for one of their own, to which my everyday dress, being only



Whitehall, Berkeley's residence in Rhode Island

a strait-bodied black-coat without plaits on the sides, or superfluous buttons, did not a little contribute.

I live now in the country and preach occasionally sometimes at Newport, sometimes in the adjacent parts of the continent. Mr James and Mr Dalton have taken a house at Boston; in which town I have not yet been, though I have had several invitations and been visited in this Island by many of the principal inhabitants thereof. My family I bless God are well. My little son thrives, and we are already flattered by the neighbours upon his parts and person.

I heartily wish to your Lordship, and all that belong to you, increase of health and joy. My wife, who has a very sincere respect for your Lordship, and my good Lady joins with me in these wishes, and her humble service with mine to both of you. I am with the greatest truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obliged and most obed^t

Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

What might have been formerly an inconvenience is now none at all. I must therefore desire your Lordship, before my money is replaced in the funds, to take sixty guineas out of it, which money I had long since from your Lordship, and for which with many other favours I shall always hold myself obliged to you.

*Percival to Berkeley.*CHARLTON, 20th Sept. 1729.

DEAR SIR,

I have just received yours of the 27th June. Your last was of the 28th March, which I answered the 14th following, before which I also writ you on the 23rd April that I had sold your Annuities as you directed me, and placed the money in Mr Hoare's hands. You have doubtless by this time received my letters, of which I sent duplicates by Mr Corbett's and Mr Newman's packets. I find you had not sold them, and I wish so too, for the certainty of peace has made the stocks in general rise, but I had your peremptory orders for what I did, and to sell them even with speed. 'Tis pity the money should lie dead in a banker's hands. I thought you had drawn for it long ago to pay the purchase of the land you had agreed for in Rhode Island. I am ready with much pleasure to obey your directions about it when you think fit to dispose of it any particular way whether in annuities or otherwise, and shall wait your orders and powers.

I am very glad you have instructed me with authority to declare your resolution of going to Bermuda when the £20,000 shall be paid in, in case the government and your associates should persist in the choice of that place preferable to any other and particularly the Island where you are. 'Tis certain the report of your settling on Rhode Island and preferring that place has universally obtained belief, both from your own accounts of it, and your purchasing lands there, which is known to everybody, to which I may add the general persuasion that Bermuda would not fit your purpose. But I have constantly said (and so I believe have your other friends) that you went to Rhode Island to shew you were in earnest

about your scheme, and to inform yourself of all the particulars necessary for carrying it on, to settle and prepare matters for beginning your work, and to be near at hand to pass to Bermuda when the Government money should be paid in. But that you avoided going directly to that Island, because by your patent, you was to vacate your Deanery a year after you had been there, and it would be a great imprudence to hazard that while you were uncertain of the moneys coming. As to this last particular, your friends employed to get it do without doubt inform you from time to time of their motions, but last week I was at Court, and Mr Eccleshal the Queen's Secretary told me that none of the St Christopher's money was yet paid into the Treasury, though I think I heard Mr Scroop tell the House of Commons last winter that there were lands already sold for £60,000.

I heartily congratulate you on the birth of your son, and I hope your Lady is well after it, and that the change of climate has agreed with all the company with you.

There is a report that Mr Smibert is married to the Lady who accompanied Mrs Berkeley, but if so I suppose you would have said something of it.

As to ourselves, my wife labours at times under very great cholic pains, and is forced to increase her dose of laudanum. Mrs Dering is now at Bath where an exceeding bad state of health from a complication of distempers carried her some months ago. My brother writes me that the waters did her head and stomach good, but have thrown the humours down into her legs insomuch they more than fear she has the dropsy to which her physicians are free to own she has a tendency, and therefore my last letters from thence talk of her return to London, which is but melancholly news. I thank God my children are all well, and prove to my satisfaction.

I mentioned that there was very great likelihood of peace. Every post gives us more reason to expect

it. Mr Stanhope¹ is set out Ambassador to Spain, and it will be about seven weeks before we can have any thorough confirmation. In the meantime great civilities pass, and the effects of the Galeons are delivered out. This will put a final end to the Ostend Company, and England will be no more concerned in the jars of Europe; but whether the Emperor will be satisfied to let Don Carlos live peaceably in Italy is a question. They say he is marching troops thither.

Dr Courayer is now with me and presents his service to you. He has been lately in Holland to see his last book printed, wherein he gives a narrative of the proceedings in France against him, and justifies his behaviour, adding with all the proofs. Since his return the Queen presented him with another £100, with intimation that she will continue this favour.

The A. B. of Dublin is not yet appointed². It lies between the Bishop of St David's and the Bishop of Salisbury's brother. London, Canterbury, and the Lord Lieutenant are for the former, but whether the Ministry are is the question. My Lord Lieutenant says it will disoblige all the Bishops there to have the Junior of their Bench put over their heads, but Salisbury insists that London promised it, which London denies. 'Tis objected to St David's that he is a man of too warm a temper, and not conversant enough in worldly matters to be A. B. of Dublin. Whether the other is more so, or whether it is necessary that Bishops should be men of this world, is a question, but I must wish for my old tutor, who is a virtuous, religious, and learned man. He has just finished his first volume in defence of our Saviour's miracles against Woolaston's tracts, who would turn

¹ [Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694—1773), the diplomatist, wit and letterwriter.]

² [The death of Archbishop King in 1729 had caused the vacancy which was filled by the appointment of John Hoadly, archbishop of Armagh, in January, 1730.]

them all into allegories. Some tell me 'tis heavy writ, but learned.

Dr Clayton is by means of Mrs Clayton in great favour at Court. My Lord Lieutenant spake to the Queen without his knowledge to grant him the Deanery of Dromore, but the Queen replied she designed better things for him. Probably if the Bishop of Salisbury's brother be made A. B. of Dublin, he will succeed him.

You have all services from hence.

I am ever,

Dr Sir, &c.,

PERCIVAL.

Percival to W. Byrd.

CHARLTON, 3rd Dec. 1729¹.

* * * * *

As to Dean Berkeley, I value him, and wish well to his design. But I will not undertake to dispute with you the feasibility of the execution, nor what success it may have. I am sure the intention deserves the utmost. We thought he had well considered everything that could be objected to it before he set out, and though he has had leisure enough to consider things over again, by the delay of the money granted him by patent, and opportunity to change his schemes by seeing things with his own eyes, which before he had only on report of others, yet by a letter I lately received from him, dated at Rhode Island, I found him still as resolute to proceed as ever, from whence I conclude that he does not see those difficulties you mention, and which I acknowledge

¹ To William Byrd in Virginia. P.

others think he must meet with. All I can say is, that since miracles are ceased all human means must be tried for the conversion of heathens, and I will not despair of the Dean's meeting with some success, though not as much as I wish him, knowing his piety, capacity, and resolution.

* * * * *

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your &c.,

PERCIVAL.

Benj. Hoare to Percival.

LONDON, 31st Dec. 1729¹.

MY LORD,

I have received the honour of your Lordship's and that it is not regular to repay the money without an order from the Dean, but will do it at your Lordship's desire, provided I may have the stock bought in my name till such time as you can get an order from the Dean, and if your Lordship will let me know what stocks shall be bought your orders shall be complied with by him that begs to subscribe himself, My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most faithful and obed^t Serv^t,

BENJ. HOARE.

¹ Benj. Hoare the banker about Dean Berkeley's money. P.

Percival to Benj. Hoare.

CHARLTON, 2nd Jan. 1729/30¹.

SIR,

I am obliged to you for putting me in a way to answer Dean Berkeley's desire, and beg the favour of you to follow the method you propose, and buy South Sea Annuities in your own name to rest so till I have a letter of Attorney from him. I know not what Annuities he sold, but beg the favour you will inform yourself of the sort at their books.

I am,

Sir,

Your &c.,

PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

RHODE ISLAND, 29th March, 1730.

MY LORD,

About three weeks ago I had the honour of receiving one of your Lordship's of an old date. I am glad the public affairs go on so well, but sorry that the private account of your family is not equally agreeable. I long to hear that my good Lady Percival and Mrs Dering get rid of their ailments, which I doubt will never be done but by change of air and exercise. If I should pretend to advise them to a long voyage my advice may be suspected, I can nevertheless affirm sincerely that I believe it would be the best remedy for them in the world. My wife, whose constitution had been much hurt and weakened by a long ague,

¹ To Mr Benj. Hoare about Dean Berkeley's money. P.

found wonderful relief from sea sickness and even from the hardships and distresses of the voyage, and is now in health better than she had been for several years before.

We have passed the winter in a profound solitude on my farm in this Island, all my companions having been allured five or six months ago to Boston, the great place of pleasure and resort in these parts, where they still continue. After my long fatigue of business this retirement is very agreeable to me; and my wife loves a country life and books so well as to pass her time contentedly and cheerfully without any other conversation than her husband and the dead.

There is no truth in what your Lordship heard of Mrs Handcock's being married, or about to marry.

I wait here with all the anxiety that attends suspense till I know what I can depend upon or what course I am to take. On the one hand I have no notion that the Court would put what men call a bite upon poor clergymen, who depended upon charters, grants, votes, and the like encouragements. On the other hand, I see nothing done towards payment of the money. All I can do is to continue to recommend it to those who are most likely and able to push this matter, and I could do no more if I were on the spot, which makes me not follow the advice of some who have lately wrote to me to return home and solicit myself. When the Charter and grant were verified in legal form I thought all solicitation was at an end. One thing I am sure of, that if the Treasury will not issue the money in regard to his Majesty's command, subscribed by his own hand and sealed with the broad seal (which is in Dr Clayton's custody), they will not be likely to pay it in regard to anything I can say or do. I have therefore hinted (in a letter I sent by this same opportunity) to Dr Clayton that it would be right to go in form with his Majesty's Letter patent in his hands to the Treasury and there make his demand that we may obtain at least a public and direct answer

from the proper persons. My views are still the same with regard to Bermuda, whither I am ready to set sail as soon as the money is paid.

I have many thanks to return your Lordship for your kind and friendly care in the concerns I presume to trouble you with, and hope the letter which I wrote several months ago containing my request that your Lordship will be pleased to replace my money in the South Sea Annuities is arrived safe to your hands. Wherever I am I find my self always increasing my debt of obligations to your Lordship, a grateful sense of which I shall ever preserve, and on all occasions be glad to shew how truly and faithfully,

I am, My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obed^t

and most humble Serv^t,

GEO. BERKELEY.

My wife joins in our best respects and humble service to your Lordship and good Lady Percival. I am glad to hear that P. Courayer is taken care of. Pray my humble service to him and Mr Dering, &c.

Philip Percival¹ to Percival.

LONDON, 4th July, 1730.

DEAR BROTHER,

I yesterday saw Mr Hutchinson who said he had received a letter from the Dean, but did not find by it that he seemed inclined to return, which he seemed sorry for, and said he could wish he would turn his thoughts homewards, for that he was very sure the money will never be paid, and hinted that

¹ Brother Percival about Dean Berkeley. P.

Sir Robert had said so much to him when he last applied to him on that subject. On the other hand, Mr Wainright, some weeks since, gave us thus much hopes, viz. that it was not absolutely desperate; but what his grounds were for thinking so he said he must not relate, but believed if it should take effect it would be some time first. So what to believe I know not, nor can I tell what would be proper to tell the Dean, the appearance being so very uncertain.

I am much obliged to you for your kind invitation, and if I can get an opportunity shall wait upon you, but whether I can be able to stay or not I cannot yet resolve. My wife is much your humble servant and I am ever,

Dear Brother,

Most truly yours, &c.,

PH. PERCIVAL

Percival to Berkeley.

CHARLTON, 9th July, 1730.

DEAR SIR,

By yours of the 29th March last I perceive you had not received my letter dated 17th Jany, wherein I acquainted you that your £2000 South Sea Annuities were bought in again by Mr Hoare in his own name; for want of a power in me to demand back the money arising from the sale of them, which by your direction I lodged in your hands. This money was entered in his books to your account, and he would not allow that your bare directions in a letter gave me sufficient authority to demand it from him again, because it did not empower me to give him a legal discharge. But to comply as far as he might with your directions he bought the Annuities again,

as I have said for your use, but in his own name, and will deliver them up, when you send me a letter of attorney to demand them of him. They cost $105\frac{5}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ brokerage; in all £2115.

It is great pleasure to hear you and your family keep your health, and that you can find agreeableness in so much solitude. However, you still shew that you prefer to it a public and useful life, and that all the discouragement you have met with has not in the least abated your zeal for erecting your intended college. I wish to God I were able to acquaint you with anything satisfactory on that head, but am still in the dark and in great despondency about the money.

Bishop Clayton went a considerable time since to Ireland, and who will advise or undertake to go to the Treasury with your letters patent, I know not, nor can I see any good effect that would come from such a procedure, the delay not arising from thence. If ordered they must pay it, and if not they will give that for a reason, and all you could get if you pursued that step would be a lawsuit with the Crown, which though successful would not advance your scheme, because without the civil protection and encouragement your college would fall to the ground. 'Tis possible, that in time it may be thought fit to pay it, but I think it must be by some miraculous influence from above, and your friends here despair of it, though my Lord Townshend, who had some politic reason against advancing learning in America (as I have heard), is retired from business.

Father Courayer is now with Mr Duncomb in Wiltshire, but returns to me in the autumn. The Queen has paid him constantly a hundred pounds a year, only some months are now lapsed by accidents that happened, but not from any weariness to support him, for her Majesty has a very good and kind opinion of him. Father le Quien¹ has lately published two

¹ [Michel le Quien (1661—1733), a learned Dominican and critic of Courayer.]

other volumes against him, but they contain nothing new.

We now seem to be in earnest to fix Don Carlos in Italy; and troops are actually marching to Portsmouth to embark for that service. But the Emperour is determined to oppose it, and where the contest will end I believe the wisest cannot foresee. 'Tis thought we shall attack Sicily out of hand which is ready to change masters.

My sister Dering has been greatly mended in her health by two journeys to Bath, but Daniel I think is in a bad state. 'Tis now several months that he has not been a day right well, and lately he voided a stone as big as an olive stone. My wife ventured once more to Bath, and found so good success from those waters that we propose to return thither in September again. It is the opinion of Stenard that the Bath waters will do service in one time of life when it will not in another, and I hope my wife may find his observation true.

You have her humble service to you and your Lady, to whom pray present mine and believe me ever,

Dear Sir,

Your, &c.,

PERCIVAL.

Berkeley to Percival.

RHODE ISLAND, *July 20th, 1730¹.*

MY LORD,

Your Lordship is entitled to more thanks than I know how to express for your kind care about my money. I waited this opportunity of a vessel going from hence, whereby I send the enclosed authorities drawn in the most authentic manner, and which

¹ Dean Berkeley's letter rec^d at Bath, 12 Dec^r, answered 23rd. P.

I suppose will enable your Lordship to do what you are so good to take upon you.

I must beg leave to repeat and insist upon your Lordship's paying yourself out of the first money that shall become due on my South Sea Annuities, and am concerned this was not done sooner. Be pleased therefore my good Lord to put your humble servant (who hath a thousand other favours to acknowledge) to no further confusion on this head.

I have not heard from Dr Clayton since he was made Bishop. I take him to be a man of worthy views and heartily wish success to his endeavours of being useful in that station since we are not likely to see him in this part of the world.

The enclosed letter to Mr Archdeacon Benson I entreat your Lordship to send by a careful hand as directed. I appoint him to take care of our College affairs instead of the Bishop of Killala, and to take into his custody the Patents and the College seal, and papers that were left with his Lordship. He is a true friend to me and the undertaking, and nobody hath better inclinations or more opportunity to do it service. I long to know the issue of his endeavour, and what course I am to take, or what to expect.

I already informed your Lordship that I hold myself in readiness to go to Bermuda, and I beg that you will take occasion to do me justice in that particular, because I understand the contrary hath been given out, though without any truth or foundation, since I have for this year past taken all possible pains to undeceive the people and contradict that report. Bermuda after all is the proper place, for, besides that the £20000 were addressed for by Parliament and granted by the Crown for that individual spot, there are other reasons which lie against placing the College here, particularly the extreme dearness of labour and the difficulty of getting Indians, the number whereof is very inconsiderable in this part of America, having been consumed by wars and strong liquors, not to

mention some other particulars wherein I take Bermuda to have the advantage.

As for the raillery of European wits, I should not mind it if I saw my College go on and prosper ; but I must own the disappointments I have met with in this particular have nearly touched me, not without affecting my health and spirits. If the founding of a College for the spreading of religion and learning in America had been a foolish project, it cannot be supposed the Court, the Ministers, and the Parliament, would have given such public encouragement to it ; and if, after all that encouragement, they who engaged to endow and protect it, let it drop, the disappointment indeed may be to me, but the censure, I think, will light elsewhere.

My best wishes wait on your Lordship, my good Lady Percival, and all your family. I wrote to Mr Dering but have not heard from him. I shall ever be glad to hear that good health and prosperity attend you all.

I am sorry that I live in a country that resembles England so much in its produce of every kind, that here is not any one curiosity worth sending, otherwise I would not have been unmindful of my duty to my Lady. Be pleased to accept of mine and of my wife's respects and believe that I am with the greatest truth and gratitude,

Your Lordship's most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

*Percival to Berkeley.*BATH, 23rd December, 1730.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 20th July came last week and with a power enclosed to receive your Annuities such as I suppose will content Mr Hoare. I shall when I return to London take care of it, and that won't be long first, for the Parliament meets the 21st of next month.

Your friend Mr Stanhope is lately dead and Archdeacon Benson is at Durham. My brother Percival, to whom I enclosed the letters you sent me for those two gentlemen, has forwarded the Archdeacon's to him, and keeps that for Stanhope for further order.

I don't wonder the disappointment you so long have met with in the settlement of your College, after the progress you had made, and the charge, labour, and hazard you have gone through to perfect it, should sensibly affect you; but the design seems too great and good to be accomplished in an age where men love darkness better than the light, and nothing is considered, but with a political view. A very good Lord asked me whether I thought the Indians would not be saved as well as we? and if I considered that learning tended to make the Plantations independent of their Mother Country? adding that the ignorance of the Indians and the variety of sects in our Plantations was England's security. He was even sorry that we had an University in Dublin. And yet the Lord is the ornament of the nobility for learning and sobriety, but he reduced all to policy. I am very sorry you should let this disappointment affect you so nearly; you know we can but propose, the disposal and events are in God's hands, who will when he thinks fit effectually bring about what tends to his own glory, I own I do not see at present great reason to hope success,

but who knows what sparks of fire may yet remain among the ashes.

I discoursed it with the Speaker, who though he approves it not for the same reason the Lord above mentioned gave me, yet thinks the honour of Parliament engaged, and told me he on that account had spoken to Sir Joseph Jekyl not to let it drop. But on the other hand Sir Robert Walpole told Mr Hutchinson in confidence, as he undoubtedly has writ you word, that the money would never be paid, so I confess I have very little hopes.

I have not spared to declare on every occasion, that your intention is, and always has been, to settle in Bermuda, and that you only went to Rhode Island to settle methods for furnishing your College with provisions.

There is a project on foot for settling a colony of a hundred English families on the river Savannah that bounds the North side of Carolina, by which it is proposed that a vast tract of good land uncultivated by reason of the incursion of the Indians will be protected and of course improved to the enriching that province, and to the great advantage of England. The King is to give the land, and the charges furnished by subscriptions, and 5 or £6000 is all we think necessary for beginning it. This being entirely calculated for a secular interest meets with approbation, and the Board of Trade have agreed with the undertakers upon a favourable report to be made of it to His Majesty, who, with the Ministry, and the merchants of the city, commend the design.

Mr Oglethorpe, a young gentleman of very public spirit and chairman of the late committee of gaols, gave the first hint of this project last year, and has very diligently pursued it. Several Parliament men, clergy, &c. are commissioners for executing it, myself among others. It is proposed the families there settled shall plant hemp and flax to be sent unmanufactured to England, whereby in time much ready money will be

saved in this Kingdom, which now goes out to other countries for the purchase of these goods, and they will also be able to supply us with a great deal of good timber. 'Tis possible too they may raise white mulberry trees and send us good raw silk. But at the worst they will be able to live there, and defend that country from the insults of their neighbours, and London will be eased of maintaining a number of families which being let out of gaol have at present no visible way to subsist.

I now come to a very melancholy part of my letter, to acquaint you with the loss of two of my nearest and dearest relations. My brother Dering after a year's struggle with the stone and a shattered constitution died at Leiden the 13th Sept. last. He went thither to consult Dr Boerhaave, but he was too far gone when he came, and only languished on for a few weeks. He had lately obtained the place of Auditor for the Duchy of Cornwall, but lived not to enjoy a penny of the profits for it was in great confusion, and I believe his solicitude to reduce it into order contributed to his end. If I were writing to another I should fill this sheet with his virtues, but to you who knew him I will say no more, than that to a religious and sober life he joined a Christian death, after acquitting himself of the duties of a good subject, husband, father, and friend. You may judge the affliction it is to us all, and particularly how near it has gone to my sister's heart who loses with him an income of £1000 a year, and who I think is in a very ill way of health. The other relation we have lost is cousin Southwell, who died the fourth of this month, after having suffered greatly by an overturn in his coach, which occasioned much painful surgeon's work about his leg, which weakened him past recovery. He had a year ago some slight hurt of the palsy, and after that a fit of the apoplexy, in one of which he died without a groan or convulsion like a child fallen to sleep.

Since you so peremptorily [insist] on my receiving out of your Annuities the money you mention, rather than disoblige you by further refusal, as I find it would, I will comply with you; but I declare it shall go to some charitable use, or the furtherance of some good design, the merit of which will be in great part your own.

If my wife could recover of her cholic we should all be well, but I think it rather grows upon her, for nothing but greater quantities of laudanum relieves her, though we try everything, and have been here since August for the use of these waters. She joins with the rest in affectionate service to you. I beg my humble service to your Lady and hope she with your child are in perfect health.

Sir,

Your, &c.,

PERCIVAL.

Percival to Berkeley.

LONDON, 4th Feb. 1730/1.

DEAR SIR,

Having an opportunity of writing to you given me by Mr Newman I cannot lose it, though I am in prodigious hurry, just come to town, and perplexed with variety of business after six months' absence from home, at Bath. I shall as soon as possible invest myself with your money in the funds as you desired, and be always ready to execute any other orders of yours.

We are in great affliction for the death of my sister Dering the 24th of last month at Bath, which has thrown my wife into her bad state of health from which we have so long laboured to set her free.

I hope you, and your Lady, and child are in perfect health, to whom my humble service, and am ever, &c.,

PERCIVAL.

*Berkeley to Percival.*RHODE ISLAND, 2nd March, 1730/31¹.

MY LORD,

I was very much concerned at an account I met with not long since in the public papers of Dan Dering's death and the disposal of his employments. His good qualities and long intimate acquaintance (things that I myself shared in and was long a witness of) I doubt not endeared him to your Lordship as much as the nearness of relation. I am sincerely touched with everything that affects your Lordship and your family, but on this occasion I was sensibly affected on my own account.

I have received such accounts on all hands both from England and Ireland that I now give up all hopes of executing the design which brought me into these parts. I am fairly given to understand that the money will never be paid. And this long continued delay and discountenance hath (as I am informed by several letters) made those persons who engaged with me entirely give up all thoughts of the College and turn themselves to other views. So that I am absolutely abandoned by every one of them. This disappointment which long lay heavy upon my spirits I endeavour to make myself easy under, by considering that we even know not what would be eventually good or bad, and that no events are in our power. Upon the whole my thoughts are now set towards Europe, where I shall endeavour to be useful some other way.

What they foolishly call free thinking seems to me the principal root or source not only of opposition to our College but of most other evils in this age, and as long as that frenzy subsists and spreads, it is in vain to hope for any good either to the mother country or colonies, which always follow the fashions of Old

¹ Dean Berkeley intends to return : rec^d at Charlton, 5 July 1731. P.

England. I am credibly informed that great numbers of all sorts of blasphemous books published in London are sent to Philadelphia, New York, and other places, where they produce a plentiful crop of atheists and infidels, I am to think more from an affectation of imitating English customs (which is very prevalent in America) than from any other motive.

My wife and child are both I thank God very well, and very much, together with myself, humble servants to your Lordship and my good Lady. My wife is big with child and so far gone that we cannot safely put to sea least she should be brought to bed on shipboard. As soon as this event is over and that she and her infant can put to sea, I propose with God's blessing to return. I pray God preserve your Lordship and good family and remain with sincere affection and respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obed^t

and most obliged humble

Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

Percival's Journal.

Wednesday, 10 *March*, 1731.

I met Archdeacon Benson at Court who told me that he had heard about a month ago from Dean Berkeley, that by the Bishop of London's account he was preparing to come home. That an offer had been made the Dean that he should have the interest of the £20,000 promised by the Government for establishing his college, but that it should not be secured to him longer than while the Government pleased to pay it,

which was offering nothing because no associates would go over to Bermuda on so precarious an account. That Dr Downs, Bishop of Down, had writ an impertinent letter to the Dean requiring him to come home, and calling his scheme idle and simple. The Archdeacon likewise took notice of the project thought of by the trustees of the intended settlement in Carolina that Dean Berkeley should plant his College there, and give half the £20,000 to us if we could procure the whole, but he thought there would be difficulty in it, and that it would not answer the Dean's end if obtained: to which I replied that were indeed doubtful, however, he must himself be here to consult with upon it.

Mr Oglethorpe to Berkeley.

May 1731¹.

REV^d SIR,

Mr Archdeacon Benson did me the honour of calling here, and acquainted me in a more particular manner with your most excellent design. I had heard in general of it before, and admired that extensive charity which had overcome the natural love men bear to their native country, and to those places and things which renew the pleasing ideas of youth; that Christian charity which had for the sake of the ignorant, barbarous Indians preferred labour and danger to ease and plenty, and chose study and abstinences in a wilderness, rather than the enjoyment of a plentiful fortune and large preferments in one of the most agreeable countries in Europe.

Mr Archdeacon informed me of the many difficulties and obstacles you had met in that glorious design

¹ Mr Oglethorpe's letter to Dean Berkeley in Rhode Island, America, touching the Carolina Colony. P.

of establishing an university, where the students were by daily exercise to be instructed in Christianity, temperance, patience, fortitude, and other laborious virtues, as well as in arts and sciences.

When he told me there was no probability of your receiving the money voted by Parliament, I was not at all surprized, considering that in the paying to you the money no private views were to be gratified, no relation served, nor pander preferred, nor no depraved opposition indulged. Mankind 'tis true was to be benefitted, and learning and revealed religion extended, but these were not ministerial points, and consequently might be opposed without danger of losing other pensions or employments.

The reason Mr Archdeacon spoke to me more particularly upon your affairs, was, that there are several members of parliament, and others (of whom I have the honour to be one), associated together for the carrying on some good designs. Mr Archdeacon thought that we might be of some service towards effecting your truly Christian undertaking. He therefore desired that I would communicate to you an account of this New Society.

Charity and humanity is the motive that hath united them, and their end is the relieving the wants of their fellow creatures both in mind and body, therefore from their very destitution they are obliged to be assistant to your design, since your motives and ends are the same. Many of these gentlemen by visiting the gaols became acquainted with the miseries of the distressed. Compassion for those wretched objects worked so strongly upon them, that they could not be easy till they had given them liberty, and near 6000 insolvents, who must otherwise have perished in prison, were restored to mankind. The merely releasing them they thought an imperfect charity, since those only who had friends to put them in a way of subsistence could reap a real benefit from it, since others whose credit, health, and perhaps morals, were

impaired by a prison could have no advantage from the Act, but the privilege of starving at large. They therefore thought of putting them in a Christian, moral, and industrious way of life, and instructing them how by labour to gain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families. They resolved alone not to confine this charity to prisoners, but to extend it as far as their funds would allow to all poor families as would be desirous of it. And in case it would not extend to all to choose out from among the prisoners and others, such as were most distressed, virtuous, and industrious. By this means they hope to take so many wretches from the utmost misery and settle them in a comfortable way of living, and of providing well for their children, who otherwise must perish through want. At the same time that this rescues them from want it would preserve them from such strong temptations to vice as I fear they are scarce able to resist.

The Society have obtained the King's order for a grant of all the lands in South Carolina lying between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, and licence for collecting all charitys, and receiving all the legacies and donations, as shall be given to them. They intend to lay out the money they shall receive in sending out colonies of poor families after the Roman method, and to provide them passage, clothes, arms, working tools, &c., and provisions for one year, during which time they shall be under such regulations as shall oblige them to fortify, build houses, clear lands, and raise provisions for themselves.

In the situation of the intended town, health, safety, fertility of soil, and commodiousness of access, will be considered. The Society will use their utmost endeavours to prevent luxury and oppression in the officers, and idleness and vice in the people. They intend to send no governour to prevent the pride that name might instil. The power of government they intend to invest in an overseer and council of honest and discreet men. The division of the people is to

be into hundreds and tithings under constables and tithing men, the men to be regularly armed and exercised, yet the lands where they establish to be purchased from the Indians and all measures used to keep peace and friendship with them, for which purpose none of the English will be permitted to go up into the country, unless it be such as are sent on embassies to the Indians. No rum nor intoxicating liquors will be allowed to be sold to the Indians, but public fairs are to be appointed at stated times, to which the Indian nations shall be invited, where judges shall be nominated to keep order and settle the prices of goods. The Indians shall upon all occasions be treated with the strictest justice and utmost humanity.

Each poor family are to have as large farms allotted to them and their heirs for ever as will consist with contiguity, and the safety of the whole. All men from the very beginning are to be established as freemen and not as servants.

In return of the money laid out upon them, of their being rescued from poverty, and instead of rent for their lands each man is to give one day's labour in six, which day's labour is to be employed on lands to be reserved for the use of the charity. Out of the produce of those public lands the aged and sick are to be subsisted, and the people to be supported in case of the casualties of famine, pestilence, or war; and if there shall be any remainder it is to be applied by the Society to the sending over more poor families.

There are many other regulations designed by the associates, which are too long now to give you a detail of, which they have formed with a view to health, safety, society, assistance, easy commerce, instruction of youth, government of the people's manners, conveniency of religious assembling, and encouragement of mechanics.

The undertaking hath met with great encouragement, as well from the public as from private persons; the former being sensible that to this they will owe

the preserving of their people, the increasing the consumption of their manufactures, and the strengthening their American dominions. Mankind will be obliged to it, for the enlarging civility, cultivating wild countries, and founding of colonies, the posterity of whom may in all probability be powerful and learned nations. And lastly Christianity may be benefitted by this species of charity, since the discipline established by a society of virtuous men will certainly reform the manners of those miserable objects who shall be by them subsisted; and the sending of proper men with such a colony will contribute greatly towards the conversion and preaching the gospel to numberless nations who never yet heard the glad tidings of revealed religion.

Percival's Journal.

Monday, 1st Nov. 1731.

Dean Berkeley who arrived Saturday last from Rhode Island dined with me, and seems rejoiced that he treads English ground after three years' absence in a country of which he gives a very indifferent account.

Sunday, 7th Nov. 1731.

Dean Berkeley and Mr Counsellor Foster with his wife dined with us.

Wednesday, 12th January, 1732.

I went to Court. Mr Oglethorpe met Dean Berkeley at my house, and we sat from dinner to ten o'clock discoursing of our Carolina project. The Prince again told me he would take care of Dumaresque. I had a letter to meet the members of Parliament at the cockpit to see the King's speech, which he will make tomorrow, but I never yet went to any of those

meetings. They have an air of servileness I don't like, and if a member should happen to vote against anything recommended in the speech, he is not well looked on by his friends for doing so, after having appeared among a number of gentlemen who were resolved to approve all.

Saturday, 19th February, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$.

An unknown author of a book entitled *Alciphron or the Minute Philosopher* in 2 vol. 8° sent me a copy. 'Tis written by way of Dialogue against the modern free thinkers. His work is in the Socratic style, and I guessed it to be by Dean Berkeley though he never acquainted me that he was upon publishing anything. Soon after I knew the Dean wrote it.

Tuesday, 22nd February, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$.

From the House [of Commons] I went to the Rose-Tavern in Chancery Lane, to the anniversary dinner, kept by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and afterwards I went to the Opera *Susanne* by Handel which takes the town, and that justly, for 'tis one of the best I ever heard.

I heard the mortifying news there that Dean Berkeley has missed of the Deanery of Down, by a villainous letter wrote from the Primate of Ireland, that the Dean is a madman and disaffected to the Government. Thus the worthiest, the learnedest, the wisest, and most virtuous Divine of the three kingdoms, is by an unparalleled wickedness made to give way to Dean Daniel, one of the meanest in every respect. There is no respect of persons in this world, when God sends his blessings on the unjust as well as just, but in the other world these things are made up.

Friday, 25th February, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$.

I returned home to dinner and had my concert, where the Earl of Grantham, Mr Walpole, Mr Cornwall, Sir Edmond Anderson, Mr Duncomb, Sir Philip

Parker, Lady Parker, Duchess of Kent, Lady Strafford, Mrs Duncomb, and others were present.

Lord Pomphret told me in relation to Dean Berkeley's missing the Deanery of Down, that it was the Lord Lieutenant, who writ over that he was a madman, and highly disagreeable to all the King's best friends in Ireland. I wish the nation had been to be voted. My brother Percival told me that he heard it was Hoadly, Bishop of Dublin, who suggested this to the Duke in order to serve that worthless man Dean Daniel, and I doubt not but the Duke was willing to write this seeing Dean Berkeley did not sue for Down by his canal.

Sunday, 27 *February*, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Dean Berkeley, Dr Courayer, and brother and sister Percival, dined with me. The Dean told me it was the Lord Chancellor Hoadly, Archbishop of Dublin, and the Primate, who put the Duke of Dorset on writing the letter against him which lost him the Deanery of Down, and that they also worked particularly against him, going so far as to affirm that it would embarrass His Majesty's affairs were he appointed to it. The Dean added that he was much obliged to his friends here for resenting the matter so warmly, and that the Queen had said upon the arrival of those letters, that she must then provide for him in England.

My sister Percival said that the Dean's book against the free thinkers, was the discourse of the Court, and that yesterday the Queen publicly commended it at her drawing room.

After dinner I went to the King's Chapel where I expected to meet the Bishop of Salisbury¹, brother to the Archbishop of Dublin, and resolved to show my resentment at the usage given Dean Berkeley. Dean Berkeley went to the chapel, and sat over against us. I said to the Bishop, yonder is one of the

¹ [Benjamin Hoadly (1676—1761), was Bishop of Salisbury, and John Hoadly (1678—1746) Archbishop of Dublin.]

worthiest, most learned, and most unexceptionable men in the three kingdoms, who has met with the wretchedest usage that ever was heard of. Who is that, said the Bishop? Dean Berkeley, said I. What usage has he met with, replied the other? He has been, said I, defeated of the Deanery of Down by malicious letters writ from Ireland. What was writ, said he? That he is a madman and disagreeable to the King's friends in Ireland, and this by persons who do not know the Dean. If they did not know him (said he) they did wrong, but who wrote them? My Lord, replied I, I know the thing to be true, and I know the Dean, and their wickedness must be answered for in heaven. The Bishop then said, I mistook the matter, that indeed the Dean had made the first application on this side, but the preferment of Dean Daniel to Down was a regular scheme sent over from Ireland, and the King immediately complied with it from a resolution he long had taken to prefer Dean Daniel, who was a worthy person, and had spent £1400 in defending the King's right to a presentation. I replied I had nothing to say against Dean Daniel, but that the methods to serve him by taking away Dean Berkeley's reputation were wicked and unpardonable. The Bishop replied, Dean Berkeley had done himself a great deal of hurt by undertaking that ridiculous project of converting the Indians, and leaving his Deanery where there was business enough for him to convert the Papists, and that his Bishop had writ to him and laid it on his conscience to return home, which he did not comply with. I answered that many wise and good men differed with his Lordship in opinion concerning that design. His Lordship said he knew not one wise man approved it. I answered the House of Commons had approved it, and addressed the late King to encourage it; and both the late King and the present had approved it by granting the Dean a charter, and £20,000 to carry it on, though the money is not paid. The Bishop answered, all that was done

out of regard to the man, not the design. That his Lordship had spoken with Governour Hunter¹, who told him Bermuda was the most improper place the Dean could pitch on for settling his College. I answered that did not prove the design in general was a bad one; but I knew why Hunter disapproved Bermuda, it was because he would have had him settle it in New York, as the Governour himself told me. This discourse between us was while the lessons were reading.

Tuesday, 14th March, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$.

I staid at home all day because of my cold. Dean Berkeley came to see me. I promised to see the Bishop of London and let him know in justification of the Dean's affection to the Government, that when King George I came to the Crown, and the Torys began to foment a rebellion, he published a pamphlet entitled 'Advice to the Torys who have taken the Oathes,' wherein he laid it on the conscience to acquiesce in the present Government and be dutiful subjects, which was a step that a disaffected man, or who had any hopes of preferment by a change of the then Government, would never have taken, but it was a courageous and honest comportment.

I asked him, if having laid aside his Bermuda scheme he would care to turn over to our Carolina settlement some part of the subscriptions that were made to his scheme, believing that he might influence many of the subscribers to bestow their intended gifts to what other good project he should recommend to them. He replied that many of his subscribers had desired him, in consideration of the charges he had been at in carrying on his own design, to accept their money as a present to reimburse himself, but that he had refused it, only recommended to them the letting their subscriptions go to the support of a College in

¹ [Robert Hunter was Governour of New York State from 1710 to 1719.]

Connecticut, erected about thirty years ago by private subscription, and which breeds the best clergymen and most learned of any college in America. That the clergymen who left the Presbyterian Church and came over to ours last year were educated there. That as this College or rather Academy came nearest his own plan, he was desirous to encourage it, and having already proceeded so far as to recommend it to his subscribers, he could not do the thing I desired of him.

He then told me that the Government were intending to provide for him in England, to which I said I knew nothing they could give him equivalent to his Deanery in Ireland except the Deanery of Paul's, which is generally held in Commendum, or an English Bishopric. That as to lesser matters, he should consider he was married, had a child, and might have more, which he was bound to provide for, and that his scheme had hurt his private fortune. He replied that if the Government gave him the Deanery of Canterbury when vacant he would accept, though but £800 a year, provided he had a promise of some prebendary annex to it. I told him it was dangerous depending on promises, but he said he would risk that.

Wednesday, 15th *March*, 173½.

I visited Ned Southwell and wished him well on his journey. Then visited cousin Le Grand, and afterwards the Bishop of London, to whom I expressed my great abhorrence of the usage Dean Berkeley met with. The Bishop said the usage was abominable, and he pitied the Dean, who is in a bad situation, for he seems totally averse, nay fixt upon not going to Ireland, and yet cannot see what can be done for him in England. For to make him an English Bishop would be impossible: it would revolt all the clergy of England, besides, the nobility who have friends to promote would effectually oppose it, and there is not zeal enough in

the ministry to do so much for the Dean. Then as to Deanerys, there are very few are equivalent to his Deanery of Derry, and those that are he would not get, for the same reason he would not get a Bishopric. That Durham is worth £1500 a year, St Paul's held in Commendum and will be alway disposed of to a favourite. That Canterbury is but £750 p. ann. but the possessor will at all times have other good preferments, which will engage him not to leave his native country for a Bishopric in Ireland. That Salisbury is £600 a year, but the present possessor Dr Clark, having with it two other good livings, will not quit his prospect of rising in England to be an Irish Bishop. The like might be said of Dr Gilbert, Dean of Exeter, who is besides clerk to the King's closet, and in expectation of succeeding to the Bishopric of Exeter. That the Deanery of York is in the hands of Dr Orbaldeston, a gentleman of that country who has two other livings and in expectation of succeeding to a great estate. That, in a word, no clergyman who has interest or pretensions to be advanced in England, will go to an honourable banishment in Ireland, and that if Dean Berkeley waits in hopes of such an opportunity, he would wait for an uncertainty, and though he should succeed and get a Deanery, it would never be made up an equivalent for the loss of his Deanery, but it is a question if the Dean can be allowed to be so long absent from his duty, as such an expectation will require.

I replied that by what I could find, Dean Berkeley had no ambition to be a Bishop in either kingdom, that his view in asking the Deanery of Down was twofold, and both very reasonable: namely that he might have gone over with a mark of his Majesty's good countenance to him, and in a reasonable time repair his private fortune, which by the prosecution of his design of settling a college in the Bermudas and the defeat thereof had suffered. This the Deanery of Down would have done, being now £200 a year

more worth than that of Derry. That since the wicked letters writ against him from Ireland representing him a madman and disaffected to the Government, it was become more necessary for him to insist on some mark of His Majesty's favour to clear his reputation in those respects, and that his friends who knew his principles and conversation could not but earnestly press it. That for myself, I had known him twenty-five years and could say many things in justification of his zeal for the Government: particularly, that the year King George the First succeeded to the crown, when the Torys and Jacobites were laying that scheme for a rebellion which broke out soon after, he writ a pamphlet entitled 'Advice to Torys who have taken the Oathes,' wherein he laid it on their consciences to behave like good subjects, and used other prudential reasons, which exposed him to all the malice of the adverse power, and had effectually ruined him if they had prevailed, that nevertheless he boldly declared himself at that critical juncture, when few others would venture so to do. That as to his being a madman, I would only have those who take the report lightly up read his late book against the free-thinkers. That I could not but be astonished at the character writ of him in Ireland and transmitted over to defeat him of his pursuit, when as it was false in fact, so they who did write could not possibly know him, he having been seven or nine years out of Ireland, but I would engage that if that kingdom had been polled, ninety-nine in a hundred would have testified for him, and that if it were practicable every grand jury there would do the same. That it was a mean, unworthy, thing to injure him for the sake of serving Dr Daniel, or any other person. Lastly, that 'tis very unfortunate that two or three Bishops there, (whom I named, the Primate and A. B. of Dublin), should make schemes for Irish preferments.

The Bishop replied, that he did not know of any letter written from Ireland, but by the Lord Lieutenant,

who did indeed represent him as a madman and a person disagreeable to the kingdom, but said nothing against his affection to the government.

But it was the Bishops I mentioned and the Lord Chancellor who so informed my Lord Lieutenant. That as to any discourse of his disaffection it proceeded from the answer my Lord Wilmington (Lord President) made to Her Majesty, who asking him what reason the kingdom of Ireland had that the Dean should be disagreeable to them, replied, he could not tell, unless that he was very great with Dean Swift. But to bring the matter to a point (continued the Bishop) I see no way to do for the Dean but to make him a Bishop in Ireland, which can only be done by his going over to his Deanery, with assurances from hence of his being made one when a vacancy happens, or to make Dean Daniel a Bishop and let Dean Berkeley succeed him in Down.

I replied, assurances from hence of making Dean Berkeley a Bishop were absolutely necessary of his going over, that his reputation might be retrieved, but how to get those assurances is the question: for I feared those who had writ against him would not be thought to eat their words, and the same objection against translating him to Down would be against making him a Bishop. The Bishop replied, it was true, and therefore when in Ireland he should endeavour to get the good opinion of those who now were his enemies, that if they could not be brought to recant openly, they might be induced to sit silent and not oppose his Majesty's good disposition, which my Lord Wilmington was able and the proper man to compass. I answered it was a hard chapter for a person of so much innocence, merit, and sufferings to court his enemies, which persons of their character would expect he should do by servile and unworthy behaviour towards them.

The Bishop said that might be avoided by instructions from hence. He then said he neither thought

well of the Primate, nor A. B. of Dublin. That with the former he corresponded very little, having been used so basely by him in breaking his word, which he had given to recommend the Bishop of Litchfield, and afterwards recommending Dr Hoadly. And that he had no correspondence at all with A. B. Hoadly, whose preferment to Dublin he had openly opposed with all his might.

Monday, 1st May, 1732.

Col. Schutz, Dean Berkeley, and Lord Palmerston kept me at home part of the morning, then I went to the House and returned home to dinner.

Friday, 9th February, 173 $\frac{2}{3}$.

Dined at home, and in the evening I had my concert. Performers, Sir Edmond Anderson, Sir Lyonel Pickering, Mr Withrington, Mr Needler, Mellan, Dobson, Pain, Prat, Sambrake, Bothmar, Mutso, Bagnal, my brother : and of profest musicians, Pasquelini, Arragoni, Vernon, the opera woman and the great Bas.

The company were brother Parker, Lord Bathurst, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Mr Hanmer, Dean Berkeley, Mr Cornwall, Sir John Barker, Mr Clerke, Mr Hildsley, Mr Fortrey, sister Percival, Mrs Minshull, Mrs Devereux, Mrs Spencer.

Saturday, 14th April, 1733.

This morning my daughter Katherine was married to Mr Hanmer at Spring-garden Chapel by Dean Berkeley. There were present my own family, my aunt Whorwood, and cousins Edward Southwell and his Lady, Betty Southwell, Will Le Grand and his sister, my brother and sister Percival, and brother Parker and his Lady ; Sir Thomas Hanmer, and Mr Job Hanmer of Buckinghamshire, uncle to Mr Hanmer. We ourselves immediately set out for Charlton, and in the evening, Sir Thomas Hanmer

and his Lady, my son Hanmer and his brother and sister, and brother and sister Percival, came down and staid with us till Sunday afternoon.

Tuesday, 22nd May, 1733.

Dean Berkeley, and Dr King, a senior fellow of Dublin College, dined with me. They came to advise about applying for new statutes for preserving the books of the library; and some others, thought necessary for the better government and honour of the College.

I gave Dr King my opinion that it was a dangerous thing to meddle in, because, if once they come to altering or procuring new statutes, the crown, which always takes advantage of such matters, will probably increase its power over them, and add something they may not like. Or they will give their visitors a greater power, one of whom (the A. B. Dr Hoadly of Dublin) they do not think their friend.

Dean Berkeley was of the same opinion, and Dr King concluded that he would write to Ireland to acquaint them with the objections he met with from gentlemen on this side, and receive their commands a second time before he delivered the Lord Justice's letters to the Lord Lieutenant on this behalf.

Dean Berkeley made me an offer to lend me £3000 at 5 p. cent. Irish: or the value thereof, English money, at like interest English, which I accepted, and am to prepare a draft of mortgage.

Friday, 1st June, 1733.

I visited Dean Berkeley and settled with him the borrowing of £3000 Irish, for which he is to have 5 p. cent. Irish; and he is to pay me that sum in English money, at the rate exchange shall be when we sign the writings.

I visited Mr August Schutz and Mr J. Temple, and then went to Court where the King and Queen spoke

a considerable time to me, and the Princess Amelia jested with me, that I should have taken it ill she laughed at Tunbridge Wells in Church, and that I laughed myself at Charlton Church. I replied she had been misinformed, I did not laugh at the clerk; but a scoundrel ballad singer came and made such a wretched work with singing his air, that if I had been buried in one of the graves I should have risen and laughed.

I dined with brother Percival and in the evening went to Mr Annesley and gave him instructions to draw the mortgage to be made to Dean Berkeley.

Wednesday, 1 *August*, 1733.

This day I went to London, and called on Counsellor Annesley where I met Dr Berkeley, Dean of Derry, and perfected to him a mortgage of lands in Ireland for £3000 Irish money, lent me at 5 p. cent. Irish money payable in Ireland. The money paid me in English was £2700, which I received on signing the mortgage and lodged it with Mr Hoare the banker.

Berkeley to the 1st Earl of Egmont.

LONDON, Thursday noon [1733].

MY LORD,

This morning I endeavoured to have waited on your Lordship at your house in Pall Mall, but was told there that you intend going tomorrow from Charlton to Bath, I therefore take this opportunity of congratulating your Lordship on your new honour, which I most heartily wish yourself and your posterity may long enjoy with the greatest prosperity. How just a title you have to it, I endeavoured to say in the preamble, a rough draught whereof I had some time since put into my young Lord Percival's hands to be perused by you, intending nevertheless when I had



H. Elwing Pinxt

J. Fisher sculp 1734

The Right Honourable John Earl of Egmont
Viscount Percival of Carlow Down Percival of Burton & one of his
Majesty's most Hon.^{ble} Privy Council in y.^e Kingdom of IRELAND.

John, Earl of Egmont

your Lordship's thoughts thereupon to have reviewed and corrected it. The theme was ample, but I was straitened by your Lordship's commands which I shall always think it my duty to obey. Whatever defects you observe in it I beg you to impute not to want of care or zeal, but to the disorder in my head which is very great and renders me more unfit for things of that kind than I have formerly been. I thank your Lordship for the American packet you have pleased to forward my wife, which she is still hourly expecting.

I conclude with both our humble services, and best wishes of health and happiness to yourself, and the good countess of Egmont.

My Lord, yr Lordship's most obedient and
most humble Servant,

G. BERKELEY.

Percival's Journal.

Wednesday, 16th January, 173 $\frac{3}{4}$.

This morning I visited Dean Berkeley to congratulate him upon being designed Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, but he was not at home.

Thursday, 17th January, 173 $\frac{3}{4}$.

At my return home [from the House of Parliament] to dinner, which was between five and six, I found Dean Berkeley, who acquainted me that this morning he kissed the King's and Queen's hands for the Bishopric of Cloyne, which gave me inexpressible pleasure, for besides that he is my intimate friend, my estate is in his diocese. The Bishop of London told me that the Bishopric was designed him a week ago, and that there was no doubt of it, the Duke of Dorset having recommended him from Ireland, Sir Robert Walpole consenting, and the Queen and Lord

Wilmington and himself very much approving it. The Bishopric passes for £1300 a year, but is effectually £1200, and has a good house on it.

Monday, 5th *April*, 1736.

I should have mentioned that before I went to the House this morning, I met Mr Vernon, Mr Bedford, and Capt. Coram, at the Georgia office, being the monthly meeting of Dr Bray's Trustees, where was granted a library to a New England minister of the Church of England, who came in person to desire it. He says the dissenters there come very fast over to our Church, occasioned by the fanaticism and rigidity of their own church establishment, for on no account whatever they will give the sacrament of baptism to children except in the congregation, so that many infants die [un]baptized, neither will they receive any to the Communion of the Lord's Supper, who have not the consent of the congregation, and acquaint them publicly with the very day of their conversion to God, and their progress in reformation of their lives, which many good people are not able to do, and are likewise afraid lest they should lie unto God. Neither will they suffer any to be Godfathers that have not taken the communion in the manner aforesaid.

He told us that eleven Presbyterian or Independent ministers are now come over to the Church of England, and have all churches, his own being in Connecticut consisting of fifty families.

He added that when Dean Berkeley left Rhode Island he presented a farm he bought there for £1200 sterling to Yale College in New England together with a noble collection of books. That the profits of that farm were appointed to go to the maintenance of three students in Divinity, without restraining them to be members of any particular church, which had greatly softened the dissenters to the Church of England.

Thursday, 27th May, 1736.

I also sent Bishop Berkeley's second part of *Queries* to Mr Richardson to be reprinted.

*Berkeley to Lord Percival*¹.

[CLOYNE, 1742.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I am very much obliged by the letter you favoured me with amidst such a hurry of business. And I should have acknowledged the obligation sooner, if I had not been shy of breaking in upon your busy moments. The scene of affairs on your side of the water is a very horrid one as your Lordship sketched it out, and I doubt not your sketch is a very just one. Hard as it is to ride out such stormy weather your Lordship is embarked and must go through it, with the utmost caution not to make a wrong step at this critical conjuncture. It is indeed very difficult not to make a censurable step on such tottering and unstable footing, especially whilst there are so many open and earnest eyes ready to remark. In a state unsettled and factious as that of England, it must be owned, the honestest and prudentest man alive may be often at a loss how to act, with whom to act, or whether to act at all. This was the circumstance of Cicero in the Roman State, and his letters contain many useful hints and parallels to our present time.

The modern patriots have to my mind shewn as little skill as honesty. Their dividing from their body puts them absolutely in the power of the late ministers, who have baited them with present advantages, and in all appearance will soon have them out again. For how is it possible they should long subsist without the favour either of Prince or People. It seems therefore

¹ [John Percival, who became the second Earl of Egmont, was elected in 1741 a member of parliament from Westminster.]

a clear case that the old ministry will bring in their old friends.

Much might be said for supporting¹ the Queen of Hungary and demolishing the power of France. But whether this might not be better and cheaper done by supplies of money than troops is a question your Lordship can better decide than I. But I blame myself for pretending to speak of matters so much out of my sphere. Thus much however may be said in general, and it holds true at all times: that it is politic to stand by one's friends and honest to abide by principles; and that those two points of steadiness and honesty, where they meet, do constitute the surest basis for a great reputation, the most necessary of all engines for a man that would make a great and useful figure in public affairs.

Pardon, my good Lord, this political stuff that I write for want of news. This island is a region of dreams and trifles of so little consequence to the rest of the world, that I am sure you expect no important news from it. But I could tell you a very ridiculous piece of news I lately heard from Dublin, which I am sure would make you laugh, but as it would be at the expense of a prelate, I must be excused telling it.

My best wishes and respects attend you and yours.

I am, my dear Lord, yr most obedient
and faithful Serv^t,

G. CLOYNE.

Percival's Journal.

Thursday, 20th November, 1746.

This month I remitted £3000 Irish to Dublin to pay off Bishop Berkeley's mortgage money.

¹ [Lord Percival favoured in a speech in 1742 the granting of aid to Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary.]

Monday, 28th December, 1746.

I received from Ireland the assignment from Bishop Berkeley of my mortgage of lands to him in Ireland. The assignment is made to my niece Dering for £2700 which she paid him 29th October last.

Kene Percival to Lord Percival.

PENNYHINCK, 16th June, 1747¹.

MY LORD,

I had yesterday an account that the good Bishop of Cloyne has given my brother Charles the parish of Mitchelstown, and a prebendary in his Cathedral void by the death of Mr Ryder and worth as I am informed about £120 or £130 a year. As I am sure his having the honour of being related to Lord Egmont and your Lordship was some motive to the Bishop to confer this favour it was my duty to give your Lordship as early an account of it as I was able.

* * * * *

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient and obliged

humble Serv^t,

K. PERCIVAL.

¹ From Rev. Mr Kene Percival, 16th June, 1747, that Dr Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, has given his brother Charles Percival the living of Mitchels Town in County Cork and made him Prebendary in his Cathedral.

*Kene Percival to the 2nd Earl of Egmont.*DUBLIN, 6th Feb. 1753.

MY LORD,

The death of the Bishop of Cloyne is universally lamented and must be much more sensibly felt by you and his other friends, who had the pleasure of an intimate acquaintance with him. He was very kind to my brother Charles and had given him reason to expect further marks of his favour. His successor, Dr Stopford, is a man of great merit, and when he comes to be acquainted with my brother will, I believe, find that he is also deserving. If your Lordship could prevail on Lord Bath who was his patron to recommend my brother to him it might make amends for the great loss he has had in his late Bishop.

Mrs Percival joins with me in our best respects to your Lordship and all your family.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged,
most obedient humble

Servant,

K. PERCIVAL.

Your Godson is very well.

To the Right Honourable
Earl of Egmont,
in Pall Mall,
London.

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